National Anti-Slavery Standard.

VOL. XXIII. NO. 32. NEW YORK, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 20, 1862. WHOLE NO. 1,176.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY, ON SATURDAY,

AT TWO DOLLARS PER ANNUM,

BY THE

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

At Its Office, No. 48 Beekman Street, New York,

AND AT THE OFFICE OF THE

PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

106 *North-Tenth Street, Philadelphia.*

Letters for publication, or relating in any way to the editorial conduct of the paper, should be addressed, "EDITOR OF THE NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, NEW YORK."

Letters enclosing subscriptions, or relating in any way to the business affairs of the paper, should be addressed, "PUBLISHER OF THE NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, NEW YORK."

ADVERTISEMENTS, 10 cents per line each insertion.

Selections.

THE SLAVERY QUESTION IN DIPLOMACY.

VIEWS OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE AND THE AMERICAN MINISTERS ABROAD.

[The correspondence between the State Department and the American Ministers abroad, or such portions thereof as the President has chosen to publish, has been laid before Congress. It forms a large volume, from which we can only glean such extracts as relate directly to the question of Emancipation as pertaining to the war.]

MR. SEWARD TO MR. ADAMS.

[Confidential.]

February 17, 1862.

SIR: It is represented to us that equally in Great Britain and in France the cause of the Union is prejudiced by the assumption that the government which maintains it is favorable or at least not unfavorable to the perpetuation of slavery. This incident is one of the most curious and instructive ones which has occurred in the course of this controversy.

The Administration was elected and came into its trust upon the ground of its declared opposition to the extension of slavery. The party of slavery, for this reason, arrayed itself against, not only the Administration, but the Union itself, and inaugurated a civil war for the overthrow of the Union and the establishment of an exclusively slaveholding confederacy.

Without surrendering the political principle, we meet them in the battle-field and in defence of the Union. The contest for life absorbs all the interest that had existed, growing out of the previous conflict of ideas. But what must be the effect? If the confederacy prevails, slavery will have a constitutional, legitimate and acknowledged State, devoted to itself, as the paramount object of the national existence. If the Union prevails, the government will be administered by a majority hostile to the fortification and perpetuation of slavery. Slavery in the slaveholding States will there be left in the care of the people of those States just as it was left at the organization of the government in all of the States except Massachusetts. It might admit of doubt whether it would not have been able to recover its former strength had the slaveholding States acquiesced in the election and avoided civil war. But what ground is there to fear such a renewal of strength after having been defeated in arms against the Union?

What is the operation of the war? We have entered Virginia, and already five thousand slaves, emancipated simply by the appearance of our forces, are upon the hands of the Federal government there. We have landed on the coast of South Carolina, and already nine thousand similarly emancipated slaves hang upon our camps.

Although the war has not been waged against slavery, yet the army acts immediately as an emancipating crusade. To proclaim the crusade is unnecessary, and it would even be inexpedient, because it would deprive us of the needful and legitimate support of the friends of the Union who are not opposed to slavery, but who prefer union without slavery to disunion with slavery?

Does France or does Great Britain want to see a social revolution here with all its horrors, like the slave revolution in San Domingo? Are these powers sure that the country or the world is ripe for such a revolution, so that it must certainly be successful? What if, inaugurating such a revolution, slavery, protesting against its ferocity and inhumanity, should prove the victor?

Who says this Administration is false to human freedom? Does it not acknowledge the citizenship as well as the manhood of men without respect to color?

Has it not made effective arrangements with Great Britain to suppress the slave trade on the coast of Africa? Has it not brought into life the Federal laws against the African slave trade, and is it not executing their severest penalties? Besides, is it not an object worthy of practical men to confine slavery within existing bounds, instead of suffering it to be spread over the whole unoccupied portion of this vast continent?

Is it not favoring emancipation in the Federal district, to be accomplished at the government cost, and without individual injustice or oppression?

Does it not receive all who come into the Federal camps to offer their services to the Union, and hold and protect them against disloyal claimants? Does it not favor the recognition of Hayti and Liberia?

The tale that Mr. Cameron was required to give up his place because of his decided opposition to slavery is without foundation; that distinguished gentleman resigned his place only because he could be useful in a diplomatic situation, while the gentleman appointed his successor, it was expected, would be more efficient in administration. His successor has no more sympathy with slavery than Mr. Cameron. These facts and thoughts are communicated to you confidentially for such use in detail as may be practicable, but not to be formally presented in the usual way to the government to which you are accredited.

MR. SEWARD TO MR. ADAMS.

[Extract.]

March 10, 1862.

The other topic presented in your dispatch is an assumption in England that the government of the United States favors the continuance of slavery, while the insurgents are seeking to win foreign support by taking measures for its melioration and ultimate removal. I have hitherto insisted, and I shall persevere in insisting, that slavery here, although admitted to be a world-wide interest, is, as between ourselves and the insurgents, a domestic question. For this reason I declined to invoke or excite foreign prejudices against the insurgents on the ground that they were attempting to set up a republic in our midst upon the foundation of perpetual slavery, in opposition to the Federal government which rests upon the basis of the political equality of all men. So now, if it were true that the two parties had changed positions, I should still insist that the controversy is one in which no foreign judgment could be invoked, for foreign interference on grounds of sympathy or favor toward domestic parties is subversive everywhere of national sovereignty and independence. Nevertheless, the allegation of such a change is utterly groundless in regard to both parties. If the government of the United States should precipitately decree the immediate abolition of slavery, it would reinvigorate the declining insurrection in every part of the South; and, on the other hand, if the insurgents at home would avow the policy of opposition to slavery which their emissaries abroad are understood to make pretenses to, the insurrection would perish for want of its necessary aliment, namely, opposition to abolition.

The President's recent message to Congress will probably produce a sudden change in the tactics of the emissaries, and we may safely wait for them to appear in some new attitude.

MR. SEWARD TO MR. ADAMS.

[Extract.]

April 8, 1862.

I have just signed, with Lord Lyons, a treaty which I trust will be approved by the Senate and by the British government. If ratified it will bring the African slave trade to an end immediately and forever. Had such a treaty been made in 1808 there would now have been no sedition here and no disagreement between the United States and foreign nations. We are indeed suffering deeply in this civil war. Europe has impatiently condemned and deplored it. Yet it is easy to see already that the calamity will be compensated by incalculable benefits to our country and to mankind.

MR. SEWARD TO MR. ADAMS.

[Extract.]

May 19, 1862.

I observe that speculations concerning foreign intervention were again rising in Europe at the date of our last advices thence, and certain remarks made by one of the Ministry at Manchester have been thought here indicative of a despotism of that kind growing up in Great Britain. It is regretted that such incidents should occur just at the moment when this country is so manifestly about to return to a condition of repose and peace. Nevertheless, they may exert a salutary influence, by inducing Congress to put the land and naval forces of the country upon a footing which will not permit it to be agitated again by intrigues to introduce foreign enemies to settle domestic strifes.

MR. SEWARD TO MR. ADAMS.

May 28, 1862.

The President asks foreign nations to consider that we are only at the end of one year now, and yet the whole effective mass of the insurrectionary region has been brought into the field by conscription. The credit of the revolution is dead before the first dollar has been raised by taxation to support it, and the territory which must bear taxation is at once reduced to the narrowest limits, and is exhausted of its wealth and supplies.

The power of a losing faction, under any circumstances, must continually grow less; but that of the disunionists is abating under the operation of a cause peculiar to themselves, which it is now my duty to bring forward—I mean the practice of African slavery.

I am aware that in regard to this point I am opening a subject which was early interdicted in this correspondence. The reason for the interdiction, and the reason for a departure from it, are, however, equally obvious. It was properly left out of view, so long as it might be reasonably hoped that by the practice of magnanimity this government might cover that weakness of the insurgents without encouraging them to persevere in their treasonable conspiracy against the Union. They have protracted the war a year, notwithstanding this forbearance of the government; and yet they persist in invoking foreign arms to end a domestic strife, while they have forced slavery into such prominence that it cannot be overlooked.

The region where the insurrection still remains flagrant embraces all or parts of several States, with a white population of four and a half million, and a negro population of three and a half million, chiefly slaves. It is thus seen to be a war between two parties of the white race, not only in the presence but in the very midst of the enslaved negro race. It is notorious, we could not conceal the fact if we would, that the dispute between them arose out of the questions in which the negro race have a deep and lasting interest, and that their sympathies, wishes and interests naturally, necessarily, inevitably fall on the side of the Union. Such a civil war between two parties of the white race, in such a place and under such circumstances, could not be expected to continue long before the negro race would begin to manifest some sensibility and some excitement. We have arrived at the stage already. Everywhere the American General receives his most useful and reliable information from the negro, who hails his coming as a harbinger of freedom. Wherever the national army advances into the insurrectionary region, African bondsmen, escaping from their insurrectionary masters, come out to meet it, and to offer their service and labor in whatever capacity they may be desired. So many of these bondsmen have, even without the invitation, and often against the opposition of the Federal military and naval authorities, made their way from bondage among the insurgents to freedom among the loyalists, that the government finds itself occupied with the consideration of measures to provide them with domicils at home or abroad. Not less than a hundred such escape every day, and as the army advances the number increases. If the war should continue indefinitely, every slave will become, not only a freeman, but an absentee. If the insurgents should resist their escape, how could they hope to prevent the civil war they have inaugurated from degenerating into a servile war? True, a servile population, especially one so long enslaved as the Africans in the insurrectionary States, require time and trial before they can organize a servile war; but if the war continues indefinitely, a servile war is only a question of time. The problem, then, is whether the strife shall be left to go to that point. The government, animated by a just regard for the general welfare, including that of the insurrectionary States, adopts a policy designed at once to save the Union and rescue society from that fearful catastrophe, while it consults the ultimate peaceful relief of the nation from slavery. It cannot be necessary to prove to any enlightened statesman that the labor of the African in the insurrectionary region is at present indispensable, as a resource of the insurgents for continuing the war, nor is it now necessary to show that this same labor is the basis of the whole industrial system existing in that region. The war is thus seen to be producing already a disorganization of the industrial system of the insurrectionary States, and tending to a subversion of even their social system. Let it next be considered that the European systems of industry are largely based upon the African slave labor of the insurrectionary States employed in the production of cotton, tobacco and rice, and on the free labor of the other States employed in producing cereals, out of which combined productions arises the demand for European productions, materials and fabrics. The disorganization of industry, which is already revealing itself in the insurrectionary States, cannot but impair their ability to prosecute the war, and at the same time result indirectly in greater distress in Europe.

On the other hand, this disorganization operates far less injuriously at present to the Federal government and to the loyal States. Every African laborer who escapes from his service is not only lost to the support of the insurrection, but he brings an accession to the productive labor of the loyal States, and to that extent increases their ability to continue the contest in which they are reluctantly engaged. The failure of foreign importations, as heretofore, in return for the exportation of Southern staples, stimulates the manufacturing industry of the loyal States. Immigration is accelerated by an activity in these States, resulting from extended manufacture and prosecution of the war. Thus has the phenomenon appeared, disappointing so many prophecies in Europe, that the war impoverishes and exhausts only the insurrection, and not the Union. I shall not contend that these effects would be perpetual. I know there is a reckoning for every nation that has the misfortune to be involved in war, and I do not expect for the United States any exemption from that inexorable law. But it is enough for my present purpose that the penalties are neither more severe nor more imminent than the loyal States can endure while bringing this unhappy contest to its desired conclusion. Let us now suppose that any one or more European States should think it right or expedient to intervene by force to oblige the United States to accept a compromise of their sovereignty. What other effect could it produce than to render inevitable, and even hurry on, that servile war so completely destructive of all European interests in this country, which this government so studiously strives to avoid? I know that the danger of any foreign nation attempting such a policy, if it has ever existed, has passed, as I am happy in knowing that no foreign government has ever threatened such intervention, while several magnanimous governments have repudiated all unfriendly designs. I have put forward that hypothesis only by way of preface to a question not less significant—namely, What must be the effect of such a policy abroad as will encourage the insurgents with hopes of an intervention which is never to occur? Is not that effect visible in the obstinacy of the insurgents, in their destruction of the cotton and tobacco already cultivated and liable to be brought into commerce by the return of peace, and in their studied neglect of the planting the seed of their staples, and turning so much of the African labor as they are able to save into the production of supplies of provisions and forage, to enable them to continue the war? The effect will be further developed as time goes on in opening a way for that servile war which, if it shall be permitted to come, will produce infinite suffering throughout the world, and can only at last result in an entirely new system of trade and commerce between the United States and all foreign nations.

I need not say that these views are not grounded on any proceedings or expressions of the British government, and are to be submitted to them, only as they will be to other States, from a strong desire on the part of the President that the true condition of the present strife may be everywhere fully understood.

MR. ADAMS TO MR. SEWARD.

[Extract.]

July 3, 1862.

SIR: I take the advantage of the absence of any dispatches this week which call for reply to give you an account of a conversation which I had with an unofficial person last Saturday morning at his request.

He said that the case was becoming very grave in Europe. A failure of this staple so vitally necessary to the subsistence of a numerous population could not take place without the risk of much difficulty. There were symptoms already of a disposition to get up agitation, and to give to the discontent of the distressed operatives a political direction. He then intimated quite broadly that the governing power, as well in France as in England, was not in a condition to withstand any great severity of pressure from this quarter. I understood him as speaking from good sources of information. Indeed I can readily conjecture precisely what they are. The result might be some joint representation to the government of the United States, the nature of which he rather hinted at than described.

To this I observed that the possibility of such proceeding had been within my contemplation. But I could not help thinking it would only have the effect of complicating the embarrassment of the parties that might undertake it. Thus far the policy of my government has been carefully conservative. Its object to save the country, and especially the madmen of the South, from the dangers growing out of a precipitate treatment of the real cause of the war—the political abuses of the slaveholding system. But the time might come when forbearance would cease to be a virtue, and every other consideration would yield to the instinct of self-preservation. The government had already been compelled to go so far as to examine and explain the possibilities of its action in certain contingencies. I had communicated a dispatch to Lord Russell, within a few days, which had, for the first time since I had been here, entered into a grave exposition of its views on that subject. Any action of foreign nations like that suggested could be viewed only as imparting a moral strength to this dangerous element in our social system in America, and therefore requiring a more immediate and radical extermination of it. The consequence might be a social convulsion in the Southern States which, so far from yielding relief to the necessities of Europe, would put an end to all the prospect of obtaining any from that quarter for years.

MR. SEWARD TO MR. ADAMS.

[Extract—Confidential.]

July 5, 1862.

It is a satisfaction to know that a copy of my dispatch 200 has been received and read by Earl Russell. The subject it presents is one of momentous import. It seems as if the extreme advocates of African slavery and its most vehement opponents were acting in concert together to precipitate a servile war—the former by making the most desperate attempts to overthrow the Federal Union, the latter by demanding an edict of universal emancipation as a lawful and necessary, if not, as they say, the only legitimate way of saving the Union.

MR. SEWARD TO MR. ADAMS.

[Extract.]

July 18, 1862.

The correspondence which has just taken place between the President of the United States and the representatives of the so-called Border States is herewith transmitted. It will show you that the revolution is already successfully arrested by the separation of those States from the company of the so-called Confederate States. It needs only any real or seeming danger of foreign intervention in the conflict to revive and renew devotion to the Union, even with the sacrifice of slavery, throughout the whole United States. Europe will not intervene or appeal to us except for cotton. Cotton, perhaps, could be furnished in answer to such an appeal only by saving the existence of slavery here to produce it. Intervention will end the exportation of cotton by extinguishing the slavery which produces it.

MR. SEWARD TO MR. ADAMS.

[Extract.]

July 18, 1862.

Such are the expectations of this government. They involve a continued reliance upon the practice of justice and respect of our sovereignty by foreign powers. It is not necessary for me to say that if this reliance fails, this civil war will, without our fault, become a war of continents—a war of the world; and whatever else may revive, the cotton trade, built upon slave labor in this country, will be irredeemably wrecked in the abrupt cessation of human bondage within the territories of the United States.

MR. SEWARD TO MR. ADAMS.

[Extract.]

July 23, 1862.

It is only the reflecting observer who habitually considers the course of events occurring in any one country as being determined, or, at least, materially influenced by natural causes lying wholly or in part outside of that country, and which create a force commonly recognized under various names as the opinion of mankind, or the spirit or the genius of the age, or of the times. Even such observers, while directing the opinion of mankind toward the abolition of slavery in the countries which tolerated it, have habitually forgotten that foreign interests and agencies have coöperated with domestic ones in the planting, hedging, cherishing and preserving of slavery, and equally so in aiding or hindering and retarding its removal. It is not unnatural, therefore, that those who, anywhere, have discussed the subject of slavery with a view to its removal have forgotten that a policy directed to that end must for a time materially affect private and public interests, reaching far beyond the direct action of the policy itself. There are two African slaveholding nations on the American Continent—Brazil and the United States. The world has agreed that the practice of slavery by these two nations is, on their part, an error, perhaps I may say a crime, and has for more than half a century demanded its speedy and complete discontinuance. This impatient demand was inspired by convictions of natural justice and sentiments of universal humanity, and the United States and Brazil, in different degrees, according to natural circumstances and national sympathies, have responded. The empire of Brazil has interdicted the African slave trade, and slavery is declining there from that cause. The United States prohibited the African slave trade, but, owing to peculiar circumstances, slavery recovered from the blow and alarmingly increased. The United States have, therefore, interdicted slavery in the new and unorganized portions of the republic, with the expectation that under that interdiction slavery would slowly, perhaps imperceptibly, but certainly, decline.

No sooner did these measures take effect than Brazil and the United States began to experience inconveniences resulting from them. This was expected; for it is a political truism that every political reform, in proportion to its magnitude and its ultimate benefits, is immediately followed by social inconveniences, losses and sufferings. If it were otherwise, public virtue, or virtue in the conduct of nations, would be relieved of trials such as individual virtue never escapes. It is understood that in Brazil whole provinces in which the coffee tree is relatively unproductive are being depopulated by the removal of slaves to others more favorable to its culture, the price of labor increases, and the relative profits derived from it abate.

In the United States the slaveholders resist the reform and wage civil war to overthrow the government. Brazil and the United States have not claimed from other nations any indemnity for, or even any sympathy in, these sacrifices. They would have exhibited a want not merely of magnanimity, but of common sense, if they had done so. But both of these countries have a right to expect that other nations will bear with equal magnanimity their own lesser shares of the inconveniences resulting from the measures which were adopted, in part at their own instance, and in the name of common justice and humanity. I think that this expectation has not been disappointed in the case of Brazil. I do not hear that any nation or people propose to disturb or destroy, or aid in disturbing or destroying, that empire because coffee has become relatively more scarce, and, therefore, more costly. All nations take cheerfully the coffee that Brazil can send them, and look elsewhere for the supplies of the deficiency.

But in this country the slaveholding insurgents solemnly resolve to compel foreign nations to join them in overthrowing the government, and to guarantee boundless and endless African slavery on this continent by burning the cotton already produced, and preventing the production of more; and, strange to say, these nations are asked to entertain the question whether they shall not intervene to defeat the reform they so justly urged, at the cost of the national existence of the United States. The resistance of the slaveholders is thus seen to be not merely treason against this country, but a war against human nature itself, and the European nations not only claim to be neutral, but they are represented as hesitating whether, under the pressure of a want of cotton, they shall not become allies in that war.

What are the reasons urged upon those governments by short-sighted politicians for such a proceeding? They are various, but none of them will bear examination. First, it was said that civil war among us endangers the commerce of foreign nations, and that they have a right to practice neutrality. So, indeed, they have, if their commerce is endangered, and if pronounced neutrality will save their commerce. But no slaveholding cruiser from this country ever attacked, or even menaced, the commerce of Europe before the attitude of neutrality was adopted. Then it was said that the United States resorted to a blockade, but the blockade is an application of force allowed by the laws of nations to all belligerents. Then the blockade was represented as being imperfect; but if it had been so, it was therefore the less injurious. Then it was too rigorous, and prevented the export of cotton and the import of fabrics. Is not this the lawful object of a blockade? Then it was alleged that the closing of the cotton ports by the blockade was continued too long. We opened them to trade, and invited it; the insurgents refuse to let cotton be sent forward to market. We apply all our means and energies, confessedly greater than any nation before applied, to suppress insurrection and restore the freedom of our inland and foreign commerce, and we gain victory after victory, yet this does not satisfy our enemies abroad. Defeats in their eyes prove our national incapacity. Victories won in conformity with the most humane practices of war are attended with such destruction of life as to shock and confound their sensibilities. Complaints against an increase of duties on foreign merchandise, and against the rigor of our taxation, come upon us in the very same breath with representations that our engagements will never be fulfilled, and our bonds not yet matured are advised to be forced back upon our newly filled money market for sale. The same voices which are proclaiming to the world that the preservation of the Union is a task too expensive for the government, denounce the revenue measures adopted to secure the accomplishment of that task as hostile to foreign nations. At first the government was considered as unfaithful to humanity in not proclaiming emancipation, and when it appeared that slavery, by being thus forced into the contest, must suffer, and perhaps perish in the conflict, then the war had become an intolerable propagandism of emancipation by the sword.

I do not require you to complain, as these facts, perhaps, might warrant me in doing, that there seems a predisposition in Western Europe, if not in favor of the slaveholders and their cause, at least against the Union and the cause of humanity that is now for weal or woe identified with its preservation.

I have brought this identification of the cause of humanity with that of our country thus prominently into view for the purpose of showing that the motives and the objects of those who oppose or seek to embarrass the latter, either at home or abroad, may be well understood and fairly weighed, and the moral as well as the material resources of the country may not be undervalued.

Having done this, it remains for me only to say further, that the purpose of the American government and people to maintain and preserve the Union and their Constitution remains unchanged. Neither the government nor the country has experienced exhaustion, or even financial pressure, but in the midst of wars and campaigns the fiscal condition of both is satisfactory, and superior to that of any other government and people. We are a nation not chiefly of cotton-growers, but of farmers, manufacturers and miners. We will induce or oblige our slaveholding citizens to supply Europe with cotton if we can. So far as we fail we fill up the deficiency promptly by sending bread and gold. We invite foreign products such as we need at prices which we can afford to pay, and we invite a premature return of all our bonds and stocks, and will promptly pay and redeem in gold, with which cotton may be bought wherever freemen can, with gold, be induced to raise it. Let the world judge whether more can be required of us.

MR. ADAMS TO MR. SEWARD.

[Extract.]

September 12, 1862.

To permit the establishment of any such authority to the South of us as that indicated, seems to be out of the question. It would be far wiser to determine that rather than this the social basis upon which it is designed to maintain it should be, once for all, removed. Whatever might be the hesitation to act while the question remained confined within purely domestic considerations, it will cease the moment that any extraneous element of foreign agency shall be introduced. Great Britain, after wielding the moral considerations of the slave question for many years, for the purpose of stimulating our domestic dissensions, cannot be allowed to complete her work by upholding a slave-born authority as a perpetual cheek upon our prosperity. All the considerations of our safety in the distant future forbid the idea. The whole case changes its character the moment we come to look at it in this new light. Its moral becomes not less momentous than its political aspects. The position of the two nations is thus made antagonistic on a great issue of principle, and the protection of the great idea of human liberty becomes more than ever before the bounden duty of the United States.

MR. ADAMS TO MR. SEWARD.

[Extract.]

September 25, 1862.

If anything, the impression made of the power of the rebel arms rather breeds more indifference to the extending of any active sympathy. There are vague hopes that the war is approximating some termination or other. * * * And the position of Great Britain and France, so far as it has yet been defined, is in direct conflict with the principles which they profess; for a recognition of the present rebel government of those States, so far as it goes, would help to establish a supply of cotton furnished by the labor of an expanding slave population, which would inevitably annul all efforts to establish the culture elsewhere in the hands of freemen. Far better would it be for those countries, as well as for the interests of the whole civilized world, if the present difficulty were met at once by a demand for unconditional emancipation.

MR. SEWARD TO MR. ADAMS.

[Extract.]

September 26, 1862.

As you are well aware, it has never been expected by the President that the insurgents should protract this war until it should exhaust not only themselves but the loyal States, and bring foreign armies or navies into the conflict, and still be allowed to retain in bondage, with the consent of this government, the slaves who constitute the laboring and producing masses of the insurrectionary States. At the same time, the emancipation of the slaves could be effected only by executive authority, and on the ground of military necessity. As a preliminary to the exercise of that great power, the President must have not only the exigency, but the general consent of the loyal people of the Union in the border slave States where the war was raging, as well as in the free States which have escaped the scourge, which could only be obtained through a clear conviction on their part that the military exigency had actually occurred. It is thus seen that what has been discussed so earnestly at home and abroad as a question of morals or of humanity has all the while been practically only a military question depending on time and circumstances. The order for emancipation, to take effect on the first of January, in the States then still remaining in rebellion against the Union, was issued upon due deliberation and conscientious consideration of the actual condition of the war, and the state of opinion in the whole country.

No one who knows how slavery was engrafted upon the nation when it was springing up into existence; how it has grown and gained strength as the nation itself has advanced in wealth and power; how fearful the people have hitherto been of any change which might disturb the parasite, will contend that the order comes too late. It is hoped and believed that after the painful experience we have had of the danger to which the Federal connection with slavery is exposing the republic, there will be few indeed who will insist that the decree which brings the connection to an end either could or ought to have been further deferred.

The interests of humanity have now become identified with the cause of our country, and this has resulted, not from any infraction of constitutional restraints by the government, but from persistent unconstitutional and factious proceedings of the insurgents, who have opposed themselves to both.

MR. SEWARD TO MR. ADAMS.

September 30, 1862.

Some foreign governments situated within the tropics, and others having colonies or dependencies there, have intimated to the President a desire to receive such accessions to their population upon conditions favorable to the welfare, prosperity and happiness of the emigrants.

In view of these facts, the President has authorized me to enter into negotiations upon the subject with the government of Great Britain, if it shall be inclined to such a course.

It is not within the purposes of this communication to present the project of a convention, but simply to state some of the general principles which this government supposes proper to be recognized in any treaties which may be contracted with reference to the objects which I have presented.

First. That all emigration of persons of African derivation to take place under the stipulations of the treaty shall be perfectly free and voluntary on the part of adults, and with the full and expressed consent of parents and guardians for minor children and wards.

Second. The agents of the government desiring to receive such emigrants shall be recognized by this government and authorized to solicit such emigration, but such agent shall be appointed by such government or with its sanction. Their names, with the dates of their appointments, and the terms for which they are to continue, shall be made known to this government, which shall engage to protect them while peacefully and inoffensively pursuing their occupation, but shall have always a right to require the dismissal of any such agent whose conduct or deportment shall be found injurious to the peace, safety or welfare of the United States.

When any government which shall have entered into the treaty shall have obtained the consent of a colony or party of emigrants, a record of their names, ages, sexes and conditions shall be made up with their proposed place of embarkation and destination, duly attested and verified. Such government shall then cause them, with their personal effects, to be received with all convenient dispatch on board of seaworthy vessels, which shall afford them healthful and convenient accommodations of space, air, food, water, and other necessaries for their intended voyage, and shall, in all cases, suffer no cruelty, inhumanity or unnecessary severity to be practiced upon them. And families so emigrating shall not be separated without their consent. Any party of such emigrants who may desire it may be attended by an agent, being a citizen of the United States, to be selected by them and approved by the government, who may remain with them during the voyage and after their arrival at their destination, until they shall have been established in their new settlement; but such agent shall be paid by them or by the United States, and he shall be liable to be removed or recalled by this government, and may be replaced upon representation from the other contracting party that his proceedings or conduct are disloyal or offensive to the government receiving such emigrants.

On arriving at the place of debarkation such emigrants shall be furnished with plain but comfortable dwellings, one for each family, or with comfortable homes in the families of resident inhabitants of the country, and either with lands to be occupied and owned by themselves adequate to their support and maintenance, they practicing ordinary industry in cultivating the same, or else with employment on hire, with provision for their wants, and compensation adequate to their support and maintenance, clothing and medicines, and an education of the children in the simple elements of knowledge, which provision shall continue for the term of five years, minors and infants being permitted to reside with their parents and guardians during their minority, unless apprenticed with the consent of their parents and guardians. All such emigrants and their posterity shall forever remain free, and in no case be reduced to bondage, slavery or involuntary servitude except for crime; and they shall specially enjoy liberty of conscience, and the right to acquire, hold and transmit property, and all other privileges of person common to inhabitants of the country in which they reside. It should be further stipulated that in cases of indigence resulting from injury, sickness or age, any of such emigrants who shall become paupers shall not thereupon be suffered to perish or to come to want, but shall be supported and cared for as is customary with similar inhabitants of the country in which they shall be residents.

You are authorized to bring this subject to the attention of Earl Russell, and to inquire whether the British government has a desire to enter into such a negotiation. Should an affirmative answer be given, you may transmit to this department any suggestions that Earl Russell may desire to make in the premises, and you will, upon due consideration of the same, be furnished with a draft of a convention.

It should be understood that it is not desired by the United States to give to any State a monopoly of the proposed emigration, but to open its benefits on equal terms to all States within the tropics, or having colonies there, which, maintaining free constitutional governments, shall desire those benefits. As it might be expedient to fix upon a definite period for the duration of the proposed treaty, you may suggest ten years as the term, with the privilege, after that time, of terminating it at the expiration of one year's notice to that effect.

MR. ADAMS TO MR. SEWARD.

Oct. 30, 1862.

Immediately after the reception of your No. 360, of the 30th of September (negro deportation scheme), I applied to Lord Russell for an interview, which I obtained this morning at 10½ o'clock. I then stated to his lordship the substance of your communication so far as was necessary to put him in a position to reply to the preliminary inquiry whether his government was disposed to negotiate about it at all. He replied in the negative. I gathered from what he said that the whole matter had been under consideration with the Ministers for some time back, and that the Duke of Newcastle had had much correspondence with the authorities in the West India Colonies about it. The conclusion had been that on the whole it might be the means of entangling them, in some way or other, with the difficulties in the United States by possible reclamations of fugitives or in some other way, a danger which they were most desirous to avoid. Hence they should not be inclined to enter upon negotiations, and least of all to adopt the form of a convention.

I explained the reasons why we had wished to take this course, our object simply being to secure for those persons voluntarily disposed to emigrate (and we did not mean to include any others) the enjoyment of the rights to which they would be justly entitled as colonists. His lordship seemed so to understand it. But he remarked that some time ago an agent had been sent from the West Indies to the United States to see if sufficient inducements could be held out to the free negroes to emigrate, but he had found them so comfortable and earning so much higher a rate of wages than could be obtained at the place he came from, that any transfer of them seemed out of the question.

I then referred to an application that had been made to me by a private individual here by the name of Davis, styling himself the representative of much landed property in the island of Jamaica, to obtain as many as five thousand families, to whom he would be ready to assign lands, if the expense of transportation could be paid for. I had answered the gentleman by referring him to my own government, and that only after he should have made his own aware of his object and ready to approve it. His lordship said he supposed that the grant of land would be only in consideration of labor. He thought it very likely that many of these people might ultimately find their way over from the United States, but he did not consider it expedient just now to make any provision about it. He expressed a little surprise that Hayti had not been preferred. I observed that efforts had been made in that direction, and some emigrants had actually gone, but the negroes were sluggish to move, and they were deterred by the difference of language and habits. I had always thought that fewer obstacles would be found to removal to the English islands than to any other after it should once be set agoing. His lordship admitted it as very possible, at least to those of them where there was a sensible deficiency of labor. But the rate of wages' though rising, was still quite low.

Under these circumstances, I remarked that it seemed of no use for me to press the point further. I should, accordingly, make report of his lordship's answer as definitively closing the matter.

MR. ADAMS TO MR. SEWARD.

[Extract.]

Oct. 3, 1862.

I judge that the cotton famine has passed its minimum, and that unless the governments of England and France should be so infatuated as to interrupt the natural progress of events, the great risk to the civilized world of future dependence upon an imperious and false organization of society in America will have been permanently averted. In the midst of all this, I wish I could see at home any prospect of a termination of this deplorable struggle. But the infatuation of the dominant class in the South seems to have reached its highest pitch when it dreams of dictating its own terms in our capital cities. There is no dealing with such persons excepting with their own weapons. Here is the conflict of two ideas which cannot be harmonized by reasoning. Much as it may cost, the struggle must go on, and modern civilization triumph, or America will forfeit all further claim to be designated as the land of the free.

MR. SEWARD TO MR. ADAMS.

[Extract.]

Oct. 18, 1862.

You are well aware how long political controversy has been wearing a gulf to divide opinion in our country on the subject of interference with slavery in the slaveholding States. You know how deep that gulf has become, and how confessedly impassable it is, except under the pressure of absolute, immediate and irretrievable danger to the Union itself. Notwithstanding many respected counsellors at home, and all our representatives abroad, have long and earnestly urged an earlier adoption of such a measure as the President has at last accepted, it was nevertheless wisely delayed until the necessity for it should become so manifest as to make it certain that, instead of dividing the loyal people into two parties, one for and the other against the prosecution of the war for the maintenance of the Union, it would be universally accepted and sustained. It is now apparent that the measure will be thus sustained.

MR. SEWARD TO MR. ADAMS.

[Extract.]

Oct. 25, 1862.

Your dispatch of October 10 has been received. It shows that the President's proclamation has produced in Great Britain an impression similar in nature, and differing only in degree, from the effect which it has had here. Although, for obvious reasons, little was said on the subject in the correspondence of this department, in anticipation of the proclamation, yet you must have well understood that the President did not adopt the sanguine expectations of those who assumed that it would instantaneously convert the foreign enemies of our country into friends. It is not now proposed to discuss with those persons the questions they so ingeniously raise, namely, whether the proclamation has not come too late, whether it has not come too early, or whether its effect will not be defeated by the fact that it is based upon military necessity, and not upon philanthropy. In regard to the first two points, they are raised by those for whom distasteful events are always unseasonable. In regard to the latter, it may be said that the Christian religion has proved none the less successful and beneficent to Europe, although it must be confessed that the mere charity inculcated by that religion was not the exclusive motive of Constantine in adopting and proclaiming it.

Time advances, and the national power will not lag behind it in bearing the proclamation into the homes which slavery has scourged with the crowning evils of civil war, and the most flagrant of political crimes—treason against the best Constitution and the best government that has ever been established among men. There is reason to hope that the proceeding will divide and break the insurrection. The public mind has been disturbed, and the periodical occurrence of popular elections has been attended by extravagant expressions, as usual. But the policy of the Administration will be practically acquiesced in and ultimately universally approved.

MR. SEWARD TO MR. ADAMS.

[Extract.]

Nov. 3, 1862.

You will notice the statements of the press concerning an emeute of the colored population in the island of St. Vincent. It is now said to have not merely a social but even a political signification. There are rumors, I know not how accurate, of uneasiness among the slaves in Cuba. The question becomes a serious one whether the political sympathies with slavery in the United States, which have been so universally cherished in Great Britain, are producing discontents among the whole African population, the free as well as the enslaved, in the West Indies. It is always dangerous for any people to abet treason in another country, and especially dangerous to force revolution in opposition to the progress of humanity.

MR. DAYTON TO MR. SEWARD.

PARIS, Oct. 14.

In acknowledging the receipt of the proclamation of the President, of Sept. 22, he says: "You may look immediately for the most mischievous efforts from portions of the foreign press to pervert and misconstrue the motives which have produced the proclamation, and the probable consequences which will follow."

You must not be surprised if another spasmodic effort for intervention is made, based upon the assumed ground of humanity; but when the real ground, that emancipation may seriously injure the cause of the South, and will interfere for years to come, at least, with the production of cotton—" but whatever may be the motive which prompts emancipation, or the immediate consequences which may follow it, the act will remain; and this cannot fail, in the end, to commend itself to the enlightened conscience of the Christian world."

[Extract.]

PARIS, March 26, 1862.

SIR: I cannot forbear to congratulate the President and the Administration upon its wise and opportune action in reference to the aid to be given to States in the emancipation of their slaves. The recommendation (supported as it was by the prompt action of the House of Representatives) has made a most favorable impression in Europe. It is almost universally looked upon as the "beginning of the end," and that is much, although the end may be distant. The Emperor, yesterday, in the private conference to which my last dispatch refers, spoke of the matter, and I thought had been favorably impressed by it. That portion of the English press which has been so pertinaciously opposed to the North is trying to destroy the favorable effect of this action of the Federal government upon the public mind of Europe, by commenting upon it as impracticable and futile under existing circumstances; but the great fact of the recommendation and the prompt action of Congress upon it remains. That it will influence favorably in our behalf the minds of the Christian world is not to be doubted.

MR. MOTLEY TO MR. SEWARD.

[Extract.]

VIENNA, Oct. —, 1862.

In spite of the clamor of a portion of the English press and of that fraction of the British public which is incapable of lifting its aspirations higher than its immediate material interests, I cannot believe, now that the proclamation of Sept. 22 has distinctly defined the position of our government on the great question of the age, that any English Ministry can stand up in the face of God and man, and extend the right hand of fellowship to a new commonwealth, avowedly based upon the perpetuation and extension of negro slavery as its corner-stone, until that commonwealth has proved its existence to be a fact which can no longer be contradicted. That the fact is already an accomplished one would be a childish assertion, and no man in Europe deserving the name of a statesman or a reasoner has ventured to make it.

The venerable Premier of England has been all his life a consistent and determined hater of African slavery, and has always done battle with it stoutly. I shall never believe that, so long as he guides the policy of England, that country will be swift to recognize the claims of the slave confederacy for recognition, now that all the clouds which sophistry has collected in Europe about the causes of our war have been forever dissipated. No man in Europe

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 20, 1862.

CORRESPONDENTS will greatly oblige us by a careful observance of the following directions, viz.:

Letters enclosing matter for publication, or relating in any way to the editorial conduct of the paper, should be addressed, "EDITOR OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, No. 48 BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK."

Letters enclosing subscriptions, or relating in any way to the business of the office, should be addressed, "PUBLISHER OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, No. 48 BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK."

TO THE SUBSCRIBERS AND FRIENDS OF THE STANDARD.

ADVANCE IN PRICE.

IN consequence of the unprecedented advance in the price of white paper, whereby the cost of publishing THE STANDARD for the present number of readers has been increased by more than ONE THOUSAND DOLLARS PER ANNUM, the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society, at a meeting held expressly to consider the subject, have unanimously decided to raise the subscription price, on and after the first of January, 1863, to $2.50. Of course, the Committee have come to this conclusion most reluctantly; but they see no other way to meet the added expense of publication, and they are sure that every friend of the paper and the cause will assent to the justice and propriety of the step.

We hope that not a single subscriber will leave us on this account, but that all will make special efforts to send us the names of new subscribers at the beginning of the new year. If we may judge from the tone of the letters we have received of late, THE STANDARD was never held in higher esteem by its readers than it is at the present time. If slavery were really abolished, we might well disband our Societies and stop our papers; but it is not abolished, nor are we sure that it will be for years to come. Abolitionists, therefore, must not lay down the weapons of their warfare, but keep them bright by active use, and hold themselves in readiness for such further service as may be necessary for the complete extinction of the hellish system against which they have so long contended.

Of course the change of price will not affect those whose subscriptions are already paid to a time beyond the first of January.

THE TWENTY-NINTH NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY.

IN view of the colossal magnitude of the Southern rebellion, on the one hand, and of the corresponding efforts for its suppression by the American government, on the other, the Managers of the NATIONAL ANTI SLAVERY SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY have deemed it expedient to defer their ANNUAL APPEAL to this late period—not knowing what events might occur, in the meantime, to render a modification or suspension of their established plan of action desirable, and wishing to be guided by the highest wisdom in such a momentous crisis.

Reverently recognizing in this awful visitation the hand of God in righteous judgment for our great national transgression, and trusting it may mercifully end in the total extinction of chattel slavery throughout the land; believing that the Proclamation of President Lincoln, emancipating forever all slaves held in States found in rebellion on the first day of January, 1863, will, if energetically and uncompromisingly enforced, inflict a staggering blow upon that fearfully oppressive system; they, nevertheless, feel that the uncertainties of civil war are too great, and the expedients of governmental and political organizations too unreliable, to justify, for one moment, any abatement of vigilance, activity, zeal, liberality, and determination on the part of those who have so long and so disinterestedly consecrated themselves to the godlike work of immediate and universal emancipation, joyfully "bearing the cross and despising the shame." With no personal or sectional feelings to indulge, no selfish ends to promote, no party or sectarian objects to attain—animated by the deepest religious sentiment and the purest patriotism—it is not for such to commit their sacred cause to other hands, to be lulled into inaction even by the most cheering signs of the times, to regard their special mission as accomplished, or to abandon their organized efforts and efficient instrumentalities which have hitherto been crowned with such animating results. Their work is, by Divine help, the extermination of slavery, root and branch; and so long as one slave remains in his fetters, and they are able to plead his cause, that work will not have been accomplished. They must continue to be "the forlorn hope" to the end, leading the way, and taking upon themselves the brunt of the conflict, until the victory be won, the captives set free, and liberty the birthright and possession of every inhabitant of our land, from sea to sea.

Granted, that the Anti-Slavery cause has grown from infantile weakness to manly strength—from universal proscription to respectful public consideration—from an apostolic number of adherents to a multitudinous host. Granted, that it is slavery which is the sole cause of the Rebellion, and that the suppression of the one *may* necessitate the forcible overthrow of the other. Granted, that the Emancipation Proclamation of President Lincoln, if it can be enforced, will include nearly three fourths of the entire slave population. Granted, that the rebels themselves, despairing of achieving their independence in any other way, may proclaim freedom to their bondmen, and thus secure their loyal coöperation. Still, we have to deal with stern realities, and must not allow ourselves to be deluded by mere possibilities which may never be fulfilled. Still, it must be remembered that no blow will be struck at THE SLAVE SYSTEM, as such, by the Proclamation; for slavery will continue to be recognized and protected, under the old constitutional guaranties, in all the so-called loyal slave States, and possibly reinstated in every rebel State, under the shield of State sovereignty, after its subjugation and the withdrawal of the Federal armies. Still, it is manifest that a powerful pro-slavery sentiment exists throughout the North, deadly hostile to every scheme of emancipation, defiantly claiming a strong reaction of public sentiment on its side, intent on persecuting and ostracising all who are obtaining their freedom by flight and the chances of war, and leaving nothing undone to get the control of the government, so as to make the most humiliating concessions to the South, and reconstruct the Union on a permanent slaveholding basis.

Under these perilous circumstances, therefore, there must be no indulgence given to the pleasing illusions of fancy, or to an undue exaltation of mind. The struggle for the abolition of slavery may yet be protracted for years; and, unquestionably, it will be fiercely contested to the end by all that is hostile to impartial liberty, North as well as South. We must gird up our loins anew, make a fresh consecration of our means and powers, labor with increasing devotedness, and ask for a discharge from this warfare only with the termination of our mortal life, or the liberation of all in bondage.

The Managers of the NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY give notice, therefore, that it will be held, as usual, in Boston, the last week in January, 1863; and to that annual gathering they cordially and urgently invite all who abhor treason, love liberty, desire peace and reconciliation on an enduring basis, and seek the unity, happiness and prosperity of our now distracted, fearfully guilty, but we trust to be regenerated country—bringing with them (or sending, if they are not able to give their personal attendance) as generous contributions and donations as their means will allow, causing "the riches of their liberality to abound" even in "the abundance of their poverty"—assured that the proceeds thus obtained will be sacredly used, under the auspices of the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, as hitherto, to disseminate light and knowledge on the subject of slavery by voice and pen, through the press, and by the lecturing agent—to quicken the religious sentiment, inform the understanding, stimulate the conscience, soften the heart, and so effect that mighty moral change in public opinion which is essential to the banishment of all complexional hatred and oppression, and, consequently, to the reign of universal justice and good will. It should be remembered that the pecuniary resource of the Society is largely dependent upon this instrumentality; and as its treasury is now empty, it is vitally important for its continued operations that prompt and liberal aid should be rendered in the manner already indicated.

To those everywhere who have so long and so generously aided us, we present our annual appeal, trusting it may be so ordered by the God of the oppressed that no renewal of it will be needed, by reason of the speedy and complete consummation of our labors and aspirations.

L. MARIA CHILD,	MARY WILLEY,
MARY MAY,	ANN REBECCA BRAMHALL,
LOUISA LORING,	SARAH P. REMOND,
HENRIETTA SARGENT,	MARY E. STEARNS,
SARAH RUSSELL MAY,	SARAH J. NOWELL,
HELEN ELIZA GARRISON,	ELIZABETH VON ARNIM,
ANNA SHAW GREENE,	ABBY H. STEPHENSON,
SARAH BLAKE SHAW,	ELIZA APTHORP,
CAROLINE C. THAYER,	SARAH COWING,
ABBY KELLEY FOSTER,	SARAH H. SOUTHWICK,
LYDIA D. PARKER,	MARY ELIZABETH SARGENT,
MATTIE GRIFFITH,	SARAH C. ATKINSON,
MARY JACKSON,	ABBY FRANCIS,
EVELINA A. SMITH,	MARY JANE PARKMAN,
CAROLINE M. SEVERANCE,	GEORGIANA OTIS,
ELIZABETH GAY,	KATHERINE EARLE FARNUM.

SECRETARY SEWARD AND EMANCIPATION.

WE devote a considerable portion of our space to-day to the republication of the Diplomatic correspondence of the Secretary of State with the American Ministers abroad. We have selected such parts as we thought best to put on Anti-Slavery record as bearing particularly upon the relations of our government with slavery. We do not do this because we think the Premier or any of his correspondents, with the single but most honorable exception of Mr. Motley, appear therein to any particular advantage, or because this passage of our history, thus developed, is of an especially gratifying character to our national pride. But we regard this correspondence as singularly curious and interesting as indicating the gradual change in public opinion in the nation, gradual but so strong as to leave its impress even upon the slippery archives of the State Department. It is a good while since we have ceased from the endeavor to believe Mr. Seward a great man. Years ago, when he pledged the whole power of the State of New-York for the protection of the humble sailors whom Virginia demanded for assisting some slaves to escape, we conceived the hope that he was to be the Coming Man. When, afterwards, he became the mark at which the firebrands, arrows and death of pro-slavery malice were aimed, from every quarter of the country, for his statement of the Irrepressible nature of the Conflict between liberty and slavery, we hailed his words as the prophecy of a true statesman, destined to put the helm of State about and save the ship from the rocks on which it was running. For true statesmanship, everywhere, consists in the simple perception of the truth that true national, as well as true individual, prosperity can only be secured by obedience to the moral, physical and economical laws of God. While the thing called statesmanship, with which we have been cursed almost to our ruin, if not quite, is an attempt to build up the greatness and happiness of a people in defiance of the Divine laws of the universe. Just as if Congress had ordered the architect of the Capitol to build it in direct opposition to the law of gravitation. The outcry against Mr. Seward's Irrepressible Conflict between Slavery and Freedom was precisely as absurd as would be a demand upon Congress for such an anti-gravitation scheme of legislation.

For these and other reasons, our good wishes went with Mr. Seward into the Chicago Convention, that being all the assistance our constitutional views would permit us to give him, and we hoped that he would be the selected candidate of the Republican party. Republicans, however, who had been nearer to him, and who had had better opportunities of personal observation, thought otherwise of his fitness for the headship of the nation, in the critical emergency of its life then likely to occur. These men refused to support Mr. Seward, and, out of the ebullition of that political cauldron, the form of Mr. Lincoln at last was evolved as that of our future ruler. Whether Mr. Seward's opinions were changed or modified by his rejection by his party, or whether he had given them a stronger expression than their real weight in his own mind justified, or whether his strength of mind failed him at the awful approach of Civil War, we cannot say, but it cannot be denied that there was a marked difference in his treatment of "*teterrima causa belli*"—the most detestable occasion of that war—after the nomination of Mr. Lincoln and before. His speech in the Senate in which he declared, in effect, that any concession to slavery was to be preferred to disunion was as full a recantation of the heresy of the Irrepressible Conflict as the Southern Inquisition ought to have demanded. That speech stamped him as a man not to be trusted with the fate of the nation, at such a moment. The men who prevented his nomination as President because they did not think his strength equal to the day of the country, made a fatal mistake when they permitted his successful competitor to select him as his Prime Minister. A strong representation of his unfitness for the post, which their prophetic hearts must have foreboded, would probably have turned the choice of Mr. Lincoln in a happier direction. And the whole course of our history, wherever the hand of the Secretary of State can be discerned, has been a sad proof of this error. The instructions to our representatives abroad at the very outset of his official career, and whatever has come to light of his correspondence with them, including that just published, are cumulative of evidence on this point.

The Secretary of State has shown several distinct phases of opinion on the matter of slavery as affecting our Civil War, to the "upturned wondering eyes" of Europe and his representatives there. In the first phase slavery had nothing whatever to do with the war. Foreign governments were to be reassured on this point and begged to believe that the Cabinet had no purpose of destroying any domestic institutions in the rebel States, but only of putting down the rebellion. As the revolution of events went on, however, it seemed that an absolute abstinence from interference with slave property was not possible; but, then, the *status quo ante bellum* was to be restored as soon as peace was conquered, and as little damage done to slavery as the nature of things would permit. Then the necessary consequences of the war which the rebels had invoked, as to slavery as well as other matters, must attach to it. And, lastly, the proclamation, itself, receives the concurrence of the Secretary, in no very enthusiastic terms, indeed, but full, as an incident made inevitable by the progress of the war and the persistent resistance of the rebels. The terms in which Mr. Seward speaks of the reasons why the proclamation was not issued sooner, shows that he had no vital sense of its virtue and power. Now, we are not finding fault with the Secretary of State for having changed his opinions for the better. Had he started from the standpoint of most of the public men of the day, he would deserve all honor. Had it been Mr. Crittenden or Mr. Wickliffe that had undergone such a change of heart, the conversion would have been hailed like a political pentecost. The advance of Mr. Holt from the ground he held two years since to that he now stands upon is one worthy all respect and congratulation. But Mr. Seward set out from the high table land of the Irrepressible Conflict, and his progress to his present proclamation position has been by the way of the Slough of Despond, the Valley of Humiliation and Doubting Castle. His gait and his progress have not been those of Mr. Greatheart, but rather of Mr. Feeblemind, and Mr. Despondency, whose daughter was named Muchafraid. He should have begun where he has ended, in consistency with the opinions which have gained him the hold on the North to which he owes his elevation. Had he made the abolition of slavery the avowed policy of the nation, as a military necessity from the first, and compelled obedience to it from all Generals, on pain of dismissal, we believe that few would now deny that victory on this continent and respect on the other, would have rested with us rather than our enemies.

The developments of all the Diplomatic Correspondence of Mr. Seward thus far made public are interesting chiefly as they mark the rise in the tide of Northern public sentiment. Whether correctly or not, there can be no doubt that Mr. Seward intended to square his conduct by the opinion and feeling of his section of country. The only trouble about him has been that he has always been a little too late in recording the shifting flood of public sentiment. Neither he, nor the President, have furnished the country with what it was yearning for—a leader. They both of them have been content to be pushed forward by the superincumbent force behind them. But the President having taken at last the position, which he would have been wise to take at first, he should have no half-way, reluctant supporter at his right hand. For we will not for a moment believe that the message is designed as a field-work thrown up to cover a retreat from the advanced ground of the proclamation. It being assumed, as respect to the President demands, that the proclamation policy is to be carried out, it is of all things the most important that the chief adviser of the President should be one, heart and soul, with him. Mr. Seward, as we have seen, has had several lines of policy which he has endeavored to make that of the country. We hold that as soon as it was clear that the first plan he had laid down had failed, he should have resigned and given place to a man who held, in hearty earnest, the opinions which pointed to a more advanced line of action. And still more, when the face of affairs is so changed from what he had hoped it would be, at the beginning. We will not attribute any treachery or falsehood to him, or a disposition to hinder the policy, which did not begin with him, in its successful career. But it is impossible that he should carry it out with the zeal and energy of one who believes in it not merely as a painful necessity, but as the glorious culmination of the Irrepressible Conflict between liberty and slavery, which is to end it in the behalf of freedom. In no other country could a Prime Minister hold his place, under the circumstances of Mr. Seward. It is unparliamentary and unbusinesslike, and should be unconstitutional, here. And the voice of all who think Emancipation the only way to victory and peace, should be raised, in Congress and out of it, to secure it fair play and a fair field.

LETTER FROM JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

THE following letter, written to that eminent friend of freedom, the lamented Dr. EDWIN P. ATLEE, is preserved amongst the papers of the Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery. A friend has kindly transcribed it for our columns.

FRIEND E. P. ATLEE, *Philadelphia.*

WASHINGTON, June 25, 1836.

RESPECTED FRIEND: I have lately received two letters from you in relation to the course which I have, during the present session of Congress, pursued on subjects connected with that part of our political condition which results from the existence of slavery in our Confederated Republic—the most unfortunate, most perplexing and most alarming of all the elements of our civil and political institutions. In *The National Intelligencer* of this morning you will find the report of my part in the debate upon the bill for the admission of the State of Arkansas into the Union, and I presume you will perceive on the one hand how far short my opinions on the subject of American slavery fall of the standard which you believe to be that of the true faith, and on the other how very far my concurrence with your opinions transcends that which throughout the present session has been the triumphant standard of slavery in the House of Representatives of the United States. You will see that the utmost extent to which I ventured—to offer a proposition restrictive upon the overbearing influence of slavery—was a proviso, withholding the assent of Congress from that article in the Constitution of the State of Arkansas, which prohibits the Legislature itself from emancipating slaves without the consent of their owners.

You will see that upon this proposition only 32 votes in its favor could be obtained in the Committee of the Whole to 90 votes against it. And as in the Committee of the Whole the yeas and nays cannot be taken, so you will find that when my proposition was renewed in the House, the yeas and nays were not allowed to be taken upon it there—they were cut off by the previous question, called for, in a manner unexampled, by a slaveholding member, authorized, against the rules and usages of the House, by a slaveholding Speaker, and sustained upon my appeal from his decision by a majority of 10 votes. You will also see that of the 97 votes which thus sustained the decision of the Speaker, five were given by members from Pennsylvania and twenty by members from the State of New York. Had these votes been on the liberty list upon this question, the Speaker's decision would have been reversed by a vote of 112 to 72. Nineteen members from Pennsylvania and only eight from New York voted against the decision.

The effect of the resolution of the House to lay upon the table without further notice all petitions, memorials, resolutions, propositions or papers relating to slavery or the abolition of slavery, was at once a suppression of the right of Petition, and an unconstitutional restriction upon the right of the members of the House to offer resolutions upon subjects of great public importance, and perfectly within the scope of deliberation in the House ever since the existence of the government.

The effect of the decision of the Speaker was to deny to me the freedom of debate upon the subject immediately before the House, and to deprive me of the constitutional right of having the yeas and nays recorded upon the question of an amendment which I had offered to a bill under consideration in the House.

Both these operations have been effected by the Representatives of freemen, in their own States unsullied with the taint of slavery—and above all by Representatives of the people of New York and Pennsylvania. The Representatives must be supposed to speak the voice of their constituents. It is a new feature in the character of the people of New York and Pennsylvania to take the side of slavery against freedom; how long they will choose to sustain this position in the affairs and opinions of the world, it is not for me to foretell.

The fourth of July is the day fixed for closing the present session of Congress. I shall, of course, be necessarily detained here until after that day.

I would very cheerfully address the Anti-Slavery Societies on that day, but although concurring in their abstract opinions concerning slavery, and lamenting the delusion, which, especially for the last year, has infected the soil of freedom itself with an unnatural and fanatical sympathy with slavery, it would be of little avail that I should speak to the people of Pennsylvania on their own soil, while my voice is stifled by the will of their Representatives in the Legislative Halls of the nation. I believe that the final issue between slavery and emancipation (a word which I prefer to *abolition*) is to be made upon this continent of North America—I would hope if I could that it will be made up peaceably and settled without bloodshed—but it must come. It is approaching by such means as it is the special prerogative of Providence to employ.

The Society of FRIENDS are among the most effective instruments to the attainment of the end, because all their paths are peace. Bound as I am by the compact in the Constitution of the United States, in my political capacity I have endeavored to retard, rather than to hasten, the conflict between the parties which must ultimately be unavoidable. What I have done hitherto has been defensively to maintain my own rights and the free institutions of the country. I hope they will not perish in my hands—but the people themselves can alone effectually maintain them.

I am, very respectfully, your friend,

J. Q. ADAMS.

THE COVENANTERS FOR EMANCIPATION.

INTERVIEW WITH THE PRESIDENT.

ON Friday morning, Dec. 12th, the Rev. A. M. MILLIGAN, of New Alexandria, Pa., and the Rev. J. R. W. SLOANE, of New York, waited upon the President of the United States, and, on behalf of the Reformed Presbyterian (Old-School Covenanter) Church in the United States, presented to him the following address:

To His Excellency ABRAHAM LINCOLN, *President of the United States.*

We visit you, Mr. President, as the representatives of the Reformed Presbyterian, or, as it is frequently termed, "Scotch Covenanter" Church; a Church whose sacrifices and sufferings in the cause of civil and religious liberty are a part of the world's history, and to which we are indebted, no less than to the Puritans, for those inestimable privileges so largely enjoyed in the free States of this Union, and which, true to its high lineage and ancient spirit, does not hold within its pale a single secessionist or sympathizer with rebellion in these United States.

Our Church has unanimously declared, by the voice of her highest court, that the world has never seen a conflict in which right was more clearly wholly upon the one side, and wrong upon the other, than in the present struggle of this government with the slaveholders' rebellion. She has also unanimously declared her determination to assist the government, by all lawful means in her power, in its conflict with this atrocious conspiracy until it be utterly overthrown and annihilated.

Profoundly impressed with the immense importance of the issues involved in this contest, and with the solemn responsibilities which rest upon the Chief Magistrate in this time of the nation's peril, our brethren have commissioned us to come and address you words of sympathy and encouragement; also, to express to you views which, in their judgment, have an important bearing upon the present condition of affairs in our beloved country, to congratulate you on what has already been accomplished in crushing rebellion, and to exhort you to persevere in the work until it has been finally completed.

Entertaining no shadow of doubt as to the entire justice of the cause in which the nation is embarked, we nevertheless consider the war a just judgment of Almighty God for the sin of rejecting His authority and enslaving our fellow-men, and are firmly persuaded that His wrath will not be appeased and that no permanent peace will be attained until His authority be recognized, and the abomination that maketh desolate utterly extirpated.

As an anti-slavery Church of the most radical school, believing slavery to be a heinous and aggravated sin both against God and man, and to be placed in the same category with piracy, murder, adultery, and theft, it is our solemn conviction that God, by his word and providence, is calling the nation to immediate, unconditional and universal emancipation. We hear His voice in these thunders of war, saying to us, "Let my people go." Nevertheless we have hailed with delighted satisfaction the several steps which you have taken in the direction of emancipation; especially do we rejoice in your late proclamation declaring your intention to free the slaves in the rebel States on the first day of January, 1863; an act which, when carried out, will give the death-blow to rebellion, strike the fetters from millions of bondmen, and secure for its author a place among the wisest of rulers and noblest benefactors of the race. Permit us, then, Mr. President, most respectfully, yet most earnestly, to urge upon you the importance of enforcing that proclamation to the utmost extent of that power with which you are vested. Let it be placed on the highest grounds of Christian justice and philanthropy; let it be declared to be an act of national repentance for long complicity with the guilt of slavery; permit nothing to tarnish the glory of the act, or rob it of its sublime moral significance and grandeur, and it cannot fail to meet a hearty response in the conscience of the nation, and to secure infinite blessings to our distracted country. Let not the declaration of the immortal Burke be verified in this instance: "Good works are commonly left in a rude and imperfect state, through the lame circumspection with which a timid prudence so frequently enervates beneficence. In doing good we are cold, languid and sluggish, and of all things afraid of being too much in the right." We urge you, by every consideration drawn from the word of God and the present condition of our bleeding country, not to be moved from the path of duty on which you have so auspiciously entered, either by the threats or blandishments of the enemies of human progress, nor to permit this great act to lose its power through the fears of timid friends.

There is another point which we esteem of paramount importance, and to which we wish briefly to call your attention. The Constitution of the United States contains no acknowledgment of the authority of God, of His Christ, or of His law, as contained in the Holy Scriptures. This we deeply deplore as wholly inconsistent with all claims to be considered a Christian nation, or to enjoy the protection and favor of God. The Lord Jesus Christ is above all earthly rulers. He is King of kings and Lord of lords. He is the one mediator between God and man, through whom alone either nations or individuals can secure the favor of the Most High. God is saying to us in these judgments, "Be wise now, therefore, O ye kings; be instructed, ye judges of the earth. Serve the Lord with fear. Kiss the Son lest he be angry, and ye perish from the way, when His wrath is kindled but a little. Blessed are all they that trust in Him. For the nation and kingdom that will not serve Thee shall perish—yea, those nations shall be utterly wasted."

This time appears to us most opportune for calling the nation to a recognition of the name and authority of God, to the claims of Him who will overturn, overturn, and overturn until the kingdoms of this world become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ. We indulge the hope, Mr. President, that you have been called, with your ardent love of liberty, your profound moral convictions manifested in your Sabbath proclamation, and in your frequent declarations of dependence upon Divine Providence, to your present position of honor and influence to free our beloved country from the curse of slavery, and secure for it the favor of the great Ruler of the universe. Shall we not now set the world an example of a Christian State, governed, not by the principles of mere political expediency, but acting under a sense of accountability to God and obedience to those laws of immutable morality which are binding alike upon nations and individuals?

Praying that you may be directed in your responsible position by Divine Wisdom, that God may throw over you the shield of His protection, that we may soon see rebellion crushed, its cause removed, and our land become Immanuel's land, we subscribe ourselves, in behalf of the Reformed Presbyterian Church,

Yours respectfully, J. R. W. SLOANE,
A. M. MILLIGAN.

Messrs. Milligan and Sloane were introduced to the President by the Hon. John A. Bingham, M.C., of Ohio. They were very cordially received. The President listened closely to the reading of the address, and afterwards had a free conversation with the deputation, who, after a pleasant interview, lasting three-quarters of an hour, retired with the conviction that he would fulfil the promise made to the country in the Proclamation of Sept. 22. So mote it be.

WHO SENT THE MONEY?—We have received $2, in an evelope bearing the postmark, "Portsmouth, N. H., Dec. 15," but unaccompanied by any letter or mark from which we can learn the name of the sender or the object to which the money should be appropriated. It is probably from one of our subscribers in Portsmouth, but from which one it is impossible for us to tell. We hope this paragraph will fall under the eye of the person who should give us the information we need.

BANVARD'S PANORAMA OF THE MISSISSIPPI is now on exhibition at the Hall of Art, 652 Broadway. The proprietor, since the previous exhibitions, has made additions showing the Naval and Military operations on the river during the present war. It is an admirable work of its kind and well worth seeing by old and young.

THE PRESIDENT'S PROCLAMATION.

How shall the 1st of January be observed by the colored people?

This question is doubtless uppermost in the minds of very many among us of all classes.

The Executive Committee of the Social, Civil and Statistical Association of the Colored People of Pennsylvania, conceiving that much harm might grow out of an observance not governed by discretion, deem it essential to the welfare of themselves and their brethren generally, to offer publicly a few well-considered suggestions on the subject.

That the hearts of thousands are anxiously longing for the glad day to fly swiftly around none can doubt. And it would be amazing in the extreme, if many were not deciding to manifest their feelings and gratitude in various tangible demonstrations, such as public meetings, etc. There may be plausible reasons satisfactory to the minds of some, for thinking that the day has arrived for such demonstrations, but we are not of that number.

In seriously viewing the present state of affairs in the nation, the distress everywhere visible, the Pharaoh-like resistance to freedom exhibited North as well as South by those favoring slavery; the manner by which the proclamation was brought about; the direct efforts being made to prohibit us from participating in the defence of the government; the malignant opposition manifested against our having a peaceful habitation on this coutinent where we were born and have labored and suffered—these with other considerations admonish us forcibly that the day has not yet come for us to arrange for the "jubilee," or to make public demonstrations in the way of parades, etc. The time may come soon when we can publicly rejoice over the downfall of slavery and the rebellion together; but be assured it is not yet. Let us not, therefore, make merry too soon. We doubt not that God, in his inscrutable Providence, is moving in power to chastize the oppressors of our race; hence, let us with patience wait for the dark clouds of war and the violent ragings of our enemies to be fully dispelled, ere we impulsively take steps that we might have to regret afterwards.

We are warmly attached to this country, notwithstanding the wrongs that have been meted out to us and our forefathers. With the government we deeply sympathize, despite of the fact that it has always withheld from us the rights of citizens; and even in its hour of trouble and rebellion has refused our services as volunteers—and only as a war policy determined to proclaim freedom to the slaves of rebels in open war against it.

Thousands, we are aware, are being cut off monthly in the prime of life, by which mourning and desolation fill habitations in countless numbers over the land; and the sick and wounded are to be seen everywhere. Therefore, while these things exist, we would say to our brethren, Let us refrain from measures and movements of a public nature, in which we might be regarded as indulging in excessive rejoicing and merriment, as though the nation were not in trouble and agony.

But surely the time has never been in the past, when we have been called upon to think so seriously and wisely as at the present hour. All eyes are upon us; and the greatest change that the nation has ever experienced is taking place.

How highly important it is, therefore, that we all should soberly ponder our situation. We are likewise especially appealed to for sympathy and aid from the land of bondage. Hence if our hearts are truly glowing with love and sympathy for the enslaved, and if we really wish to prove our sympathy in some becoming manner, can we not best do so, not by public display, not by feasting and drinking over the event, but by giving material aid on that day, so far as our means will allow, to help clothe, feed, educate and elevate our brethren just entering into liberty! glorious, unconditional liberty? In this way we could do credit and real benefit to our race, which would unquestionably make a highly favorable impression on the public mind. The cold Winter is upon them, and the many thousands that will need aid will look with longing hearts to the free colored people of the North, as well as Abolitionists, for assistance.

Shall they look in vain? No! Never! The Social, Civil and Statistical Association, as is generally well-known amongst our people, have been and are still laboring to alleviate the sufferings and wants of the "contrabands" at Washington and other places.

We would therefore suggest, if the Churches, societies or individuals feel inclined to make the Association a medium through which to convey whatever they may see proper to give on the occasion, all donations will be promptly applied and public acknowledgment duly made through the public press.

Will not the various colored Churches take up collections for this purpose wherever the day shall be religiously observed?

WM. STILL,
JACOB B. WHITE, SR., } Committee.
ISAIAH C. WEARS,

Philadelphia, Dec. 15, 1862.

MEETING AT WORCESTER.

A QUARTERLY meeting of the Worcester County (South Division) Anti-Slavery Society was held at Washburn Hall, in Worcester, on Sunday, 7th inst.

The sudden inclemency of the weather, together with the fact of the presence of Dr. Geo. B. Cheever of New York, to speak on the Anti-Slavery question in one of the city churches, gave us a smaller attendance than usual, although it was quite respectable in numbers, and attentive and interested in character.

Beyond the time spent in the necessary business of the meeting, and the discussion of some points of difference in relation to the position the Society should stand in towards the government in this crisis, and what form of expression should be given to that position in our resolutions, the time was mainly yielded to the address of Theodore D. Weld, which was divided between the afternoon and evening sessions.

The address of Mr. Weld upon "The Conspirators—their False Issues and Lying Pretences," was one of masterly ability, elegant in its diction, exhaustive in its argument, massive in its logic, at times poetic and sublime in its rhetoric, and eloquent in its delivery. And although it was of unusual length, and gathered up a long array of facts, and detail of issues of past interest, yet the great power evinced in argument, and the beauty of delivery, enchained his hearers in rapt and undivided attention.

So much interest was felt by the meeting in his addresses, that the Society voted to instruct their Secretary to extend to Mr. Weld their thanks for favoring them with it, and invite him to address us at some future time under more favorable circumstances for a large audience.

The Business Committee, consisting of Parker Pillsbury, Samuel May, Jr., Theodore D. Weld, Stephen S. Foster, Lewis Ford and Sarah E. Wall, reported the following series of resolutions, viz:

1. Resolved, that the fundamental principle of the Anti-Slavery enterprise is, that colored men are equal to other men in their creation, and in their right to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

2. Resolved, That our belief is still, as it ever has been, that immediate and unconditional emancipation is the right of every slave, and the duty of every slaveholder, without colonization of the one, or compensation to the other; and alike irrespective of all questions of pecuniary profit, political expediency, or military necessity.

3. Resolved, That in this crisis-hour of our national existence, when political integrity is so largely displaced by unblushing profligacy, and the religious faith treads so hard on downright atheism, it becomes us, with most unwavering constancy and unshaken fidelity, to hold fast to our original doctrines and demands, not only as the right of the slave, but also as the only possible ground of hope for the salvation of the nation itself.

4. Resolved, That the present destructive and desolating war is but the waking of that Divine Justice, which Jefferson, long ago, declared "cannot sleep forever"; and any attempt to arrest it, by temporary expedients, which leave a single slave on the soil, or the principle of slavery uneradicated, root as well as branch, will but provoke still further that now roused and righteous indignation, and ensure a more fearful overthrow, when at length its appointed hour shall come.

5. Resolved, That Presidential Proclamations to the people, or Messages to Congress, however loud or long or labored, until they are founded on Justice and Humanity—until they recognize the slave as a man, with equal and inalienable rights of his own, and not as a mere convenience, or nuisance, to be saved or sacrificed, as the fortunes of war, or the needs, inclinations or prejudices of the white race may require or desire—are as unworthy of respect as they are devoid of the means and assurances of national salvation.

6. Resolved, That to embarrass the question of Immediate Emancipation with proposals of compensation or colonization, is both inexpedient and immoral; as the former is only bribing thieves and robbers into better outward behavior, without any real repentance, and the latter is but pandering to that vile and vulgar prejudice against complexion, which constitutes the main underpinning stone of slavery itself; and neither has any necessary connection with the command, old as oppression, lasting as eternity, "Proclaim liberty throughout all the land, to all the inhabitants thereof."

7. Resolved, therefore, That the mission of this Society is

not accomplished; nor its position or action essentially changed toward the government; nor can be, till slavery, and the spirit of slavery, burning and raging in the popular heart against colored humanity, shall be wholly exorcised from it.

The resolutions were adopted seriatim, unanimously and without much discussion, save upon the last of the series, and this discussion arose upon the presentation, by Mr. Pillsbury, at the opening of the evening session, of another resolution, which he proposed to have placed in order between the 6th and 7th of the series reported by the Committee; the new resolution in substance affirming it to be our duty to maintain our old position and testimony towards the government, as it had made no such change as to entitle it to our support.

This position being strongly dissented from by one of our oldest and most devoted members, after some discussion between him and some others who were not prepared to go over to the government, or allow the Society, by a negative testimony, even to be turned over to it as it now stands, the matter was finally adjusted by dropping the new resolution, and briefly incorporating into the last of the series the substance of the controverted point; when the resolution, as amended, was passed with hardly a dissent.

JOSIAH HENSHAW, *President.*
JOSEPH A. HOWLAND, *Sec'y.*

PERSONAL.

THE Boston *Traveller* reports that Mr. Everett is fast recovering from a prolonged but not dangerous illness.

Gerrit Smith is in New York for a few days, and will speak on the State of the Country before leaving. For announcement of time and place see daily papers.

A memorial, signed by a large number of Congressmen, will be presented to the President in a few days, praying for the appointment of Eli Thayer as Military Governor of Florida.

Rev. Mansfield French spoke in the Hall of Representatives in Washington on Sunday morning last, giving an account of the condition of the Freedmen in South Carolina. The hall was crowded.

William Wells Brown spoke to a crowded house in Jersey City last Sunday evening, and greatly interested and edified his auditors. His subject was, "The Proclamation and its effects upon the slaves." Mr. Brown is fulfilling other appointments in this vicinity.

Garibaldi has just been elected an honorary member of the Swiss patriotic association called the Helvetia. Dr. Nelaton, the French Surgeon who went to Italy to treat Garibaldi's wound, is to be presented a valuable gold box by the Italian sympathizers in Paris.

Charles L. Reason, Esq., of this city lately delivered a lecture in Boston for the benefit of the Fugitive Aid Society. A correspondent of *The Anglo-African* says: "Mr. Reason had the largest audience that has assembled during the whole course of lectures," and this notwithstanding his predecessors were able white men.

The English correspondent of *The Independent* states that George Thompson, Esq., is a candidate for Parliament at Southampton, to fill a vacancy. It is not probable, however, that he can be elected. He is too earnest a champion of the United States to be very popular in England just now.

Theodore D. Weld and Parker Pillsbury will attend the Quarterly meeting of the Essex County (Mass.) Anti-Slavery Society, at Danvers, commencing this (Saturday) evening. Arrangements can be made with those who would like to have Mr. Weld lecture in their several places, by addressing letters to Samuel May, Jr., or to Parker Pillsbury, Anti-Slavery Office, Boston.

We are pleased to observe that our old friend Dr. Daniel Breed, formerly of this city, now of Washington, is one of the Trustees of the free schools for colored youths in the latter city, under the late act of Congress. He lately delivered an interesting address on the subject before a meeting of colored people in Washington.

Mrs. Plumb, who is engaged in teaching the New Gymnastics to classes in this city, has the following testimonial from Dr. Dio Lewis:

"Among the forty-two graduates of the Normal Institute for Physical Education, not one of either sex will better illustrate the new methods than Mrs. Z. R. Plumb. She is an excellent lady, and a most conscientious and competent teacher. It is a source of the deepest gratification to me that the introduction of the New Gymnastics in New York city should have fallen into such hands."

A late number of the Grenada (Miss.) *Appeal* publishes a letter from Richmond which has the following in relation to John M. Botts:

"The name of John M. Botts has turned up again in the public prints. Since his discharge from Castle Godwin some months ago he has remained upon his farm near the city, acquiescent in the existing state of affairs, waiting, as many suppose, for the overthrow of the 'rebellion' and the restoration of the United States government. The occasion of the recent mention of his name is the fact that he has been presented with a magnificent estate in the County of Culpepper, recently purchased from Hon. Jeremiah Morton by Franklin Stearns, Esq., who was in former days an ardent political supporter of Botts, and shared his imprisonment in Gen. Winder's jail."

The Worcester (Mass.) *Spy*, speaking of the meetings of the Worcester County Anti-Slavery Society, lately held at that place, says:

"The meetings derived their chief interest from the address of Theodore D. Weld. The attendance, however, being limited in a large degree to the friends of this branch of anti-slavery organization, many citizens, to whom Mr. Weld should have spoken, lost an opportunity such as is rarely given them to enjoy. His constitutional and historical argument against secession was a clear, logical and earnest statement of the one issue between the government and the rebellion—rising at times into passages of singular eloquence, and delivered with dramatic impressiveness and power. Mr. Weld's twenty-six years' absence from the platform has not impaired the strength and glow of his faculties; and he has apparently many years of influence and usefulness yet before him. We trust that at some future time he will return to Worcester, and, under favorable auspices, give all our citizens an opportunity of hearing one of the very few able addresses which the times have produced."

Wendell Phillips delivered a lecture in Roxbury, Mass., recently, of which *The Journal* of that place says:

"The lecture was, in its main portion, a clear, philosophical and statesmanlike discussion of the conflict between the two systems of labor now in progress in the nation. Its positions were precisely those assumed by leading Republican statesmen, and Democrats like Holt, Owen, Brownson and Bancroft—namely, that slavery is the rebellion, and the only way to end it is to strike at the 'institution.' Mr. Phillips's manner was calm, and his words were measured. There was nothing in his discourse which did not appeal to the reason of his auditors. It was such a speech as no loyal man could properly take exception to, and one which the very ablest of our leaders might have been proud to deliver. The only point in it likely to cause controversy was that in which he reviewed the careers of Gen. McClellan and Secretary Seward. The latter gentleman he called the McClellan of the Cabinet, and urged that the interests of the country demanded his instant retirement from office. When the public comes to understand fully the facts which are now in process of development, we do not doubt that there will be a general acquiesence in this view."

It will be remembered in America and England, says *The Evening Post*, that eight years ago an "Address" was sent to the women of this country signed by half a million of their British sisters, imploring them to use all their influence to abolish negro slavery in this country. This remarkable document, splendidly illuminated on vellum, with all the signatures, was bound up in twenty-six folio volumes, and sent to Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe, to be promulgated far and wide in America. Among the ladies who first put their names to the "Address" were the wives of Lord Palmerston, Lord Shaftesbury, Lord Cowley, the Duke of Bedford, the Duke of Argyle, Earl Russell, Baron Parke, Lord Ruthven, Mr. Gladstone, and other well-known British celebrities. The husbands of most of the signers to this address having thrown all their influence in favor of the South against the North, and bolstered up slavery with all their powerful support, Mrs. Stowe has written "A Reply" to this "Address," which will appear in the January number of *The Atlantic Monthly*, and she will lay before the "many thousands of the women of Great Britain" in her forthcoming paper the inconsistency of their appeal. It will be a document that will stir the English heart, or we are greatly mistaken in the trenchant power of Mrs. Stowe's eloquent pen.

Says the Boston correspondent of the Springfield *Republican*, in that paper of Saturday last:

"Wendell Phillips delivered an oration Tuesday night before the Fraternity. It was one of his best efforts; less sketchy, and critical, and sharp, perhaps, than usual, but fuller of thought and suggestion. His historical parallels were finely put. Stuartism in England was not extinguished till the clan system in the Highlands was uprooted. The destruction or division of Church property in Spain has struck a blow at the Catholic Church, and ever since Spain has been recovering herself, and is now one of the great powers. What Jacobinism was to England, centralization to France, the power of the Church to Spain, that slavery is to the United States. But the finest part of his speech was his citation from Samuel of the history of Saul's failure to obey God's command by destroying Agag. And Samuel said, 'Hath the Lord as great delight in burnt offerings and sacrifices as in obeying the voice of the Lord? Behold, *to obey is better than sacrifice, and to hearken than the fat of rams.*' 'Then said Samuel, Bring ye hither to me Agag the King of the Amalekites.' 'And Samuel said, *As thy sword hath made women childless, so shall thy mother be childless among women. And Samuel hewed Agag in pieces before the Lord.*' Phillips also related a fable, which was new to me, and which was much relished. It is an explanation of the fact that the cat always washes her face after eating, instead of before. A cat caught a rat, and seated herself to devour it, when the rat said, 'Whoever heard of anybody eating dinner before washing?' 'A good suggestion,' quoth the cat, and so she released the rat and went to perform her ablutions. Mr. Rat, of course, skipped away. Ever since that experience the cats have washed themselves *after* eating."

Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 15, 1862.

GEN. MCCLELLAN has had another airing before the nation, through the agency of the McDowell Court of Inquiry. It was not his fault, nor that of McDowell, that the whole subject of McClellan's movement from Washington to the Peninsula came up. The Court went into this branch of the subject, and McClellan answered the questions asked him, and then went back to Philadelphia. So far as his own testimony goes, he made out a good case for himself and against the government. The case has attracted considerable attention here, and the friends of the removed General say that he has placed the government in a very bad position before the people. We must wait, however, to the end of the trial, and see what other evidence is presented. According to gentlemen who have the confidence of the government, there *is* other evidence, which can be and probably will be presented. The country will wait and hear both sides before pronouncing judgment, but it is already evident that McDowell is not really the only man whose conduct will be examined.

There was a curious episode one day in the trial. A Colonel by the name of R. D. Goodwin testified that he had seen Gen. McDowell drunk on a certain occasion. The General attempted in reply to put in evidence going to show that Goodwin was a man without good character, who had been in prison for some crime, whereupon Mr. Goodwin addressed the following singular paper to the Court:

"*May it please this honorable Court:* Inasmuch as a letter of impeachment (by way of protest) was read to the Court yesterday from Gen McDowell, I beg that the General be permitted to prove all or any charges against me, giving me the right to defend myself. I here emphatically deny that I ever was in prison 'for any crime,' or ever tried to defraud the government. But I cannot say that the government has not defrauded me. I believe, as far as I stated in my New York letter of Gen. McDowell, I have fully sustained my position before this Court. But drunkenness in our nation may be considered no crime. This nation has been on a drunken frolic for years, during which she has been eating up niggers, soul and body, and drinking the heart's blood of the poor white man, while she has hunted down and manured her soil with the flesh and blood of the red man. But now the doctor has given her an emetic from which she is suffering, her brain is maddened, and her blood is at fever heat; she has the delirium tremens, and is now tearing the flesh off her bones, premeditating self-destruction.

"The head is deranged; I mean the Cabinet is not a unit; the Congress is divided, and the heads of our army are distracted, not knowing what to do or how to do it. But our Great Father will bring her to know herself. He will give her a cathartic and will purge her of all her dross and filth; after which she will become *cool* and *collected*, when she will again return to her senses and be found clothed and sitting in her right mind once more.

"I am the friend of God and humanity, and shall condemn wickedness wherever I see it.

"Yours for truth, R. D. GOODWIN."

Some people assert that Goodwin is crazy, but if he is, he has put some very true things (in a ludicrous way) into his paper. The style of the paper is not one whit more "crazy" than the conduct of the government in this very McDowell case. At an hour when the nation is looking for a great victory, when our troops in all parts of the country are crowding the enemy to decisive battles, a Court of Inquiry is sitting in judgment on the general conduct of the war under the pretence of examining into charges against Gen. McDowell. No charges have ever been preferred against him, except in the newspapers. His fault is not that he is traitorous, but he does lack *capacity*. The Court will prove clearly enough that McDowell has behaved well enough. He has never failed the just expectations of anybody, because nobody had the right to believe him to be a good General. He will not be entrusted with any very important command hereafter, though he would doubtless make a good corps commander under such a man as Burnside.

The slavery question gets an occasional "agitation" in Congress. One of the Kentucky members the other day introduced a resolution into the House condemning the President's Emancipation Proclamation, but on motion of Mr. Lovejoy it was promptly laid on the table. Lovejoy and Wickliffe had a lively little dispute on some question two or three days ago, and the Abolitionist got the better of the slaveholder. Wickliffe is continually anxious lest some slave shall escape from Kentucky—more anxious about that than he is over the condition of the country. Lovejoy took off this propensity of the Kentuckian in a most amusing fashion—after the style of Patrick Henry in the case of the beef contractor Hook. As Hook cried, "Beef! beef! I want pay for my steers!" in the midst of the revolutionary triumph, so now Wickliffe cries out, in the midst of the nation's agony, "Nigger! nigger! I've lost a nigger!"

The Democrats of Congress are endeavoring to get rid of the Emancipation Proclamation and to save slavery. This is all they are thinking of just now, as the first of January approaches. *How* to do this puzzles them. It is still the opinion of the Democratic chiefs that the Supreme Court will save slavery if the Union is preserved by a compromise. That is, they believe the Court will eventually pronounce the Proclamation void. The Court itself, however, may be reframed and reorganized before these great questions will come before it. The difficulty with the Democrats is that their late triumph, in the Fall elections, does them no good. They will not be in power till one year from now, and then it may be too late—yes, *will* be too late, for them to have a voice in settling the great controversy with rebellion and slavery. The President has the matter in his own hands, and it will be settled before the Democrats have control of even one branch of the National Legislature.

It seems to be settled that Secretary Smith leaves the Cabinet about New Year's. There is quite a struggle going on in reference to his successor. Indiana desires to have a citizen in the Cabinet, and Mr. Usher, the present Assistant Secretary, is urged strenuously for the place of Mr. Smith. Judge Holt of Kentucky is a formidable candidate for the place and will probably get it. As I understand his position, Mr. Holt favors the President's emancipation policy, and will use his influence in its favor in Kentucky. What we need in the Cabinet is *live men*, and it is to be hoped that the President will not permit any fancied political necessities to influence him in the least, and especially not in a way to result in the selection of a third-rate man for the Cabinet. The government needs the reenforcement of a bold, brave, yet prudent man, in the place of some of the old fogies now connected with it. An even, steady man is needed, who will never flinch from the path of duty. Oh for a dozen men like Chase! We need men of his calibre of intellect, of his moral character, to conduct this mighty contest to a successful issue.

One of the men who has been of late engaged in the business of manufacturing "peace propositions," has at last got into the clutches of the police. J. Wesley Greene is his name, but he is not half so green by nature as he is villainous. He is a thief as well as a concocter of peace-stories. All these idle tales of peace propositions from Jeff. Davis have come from such scamps. There isn't a word of truth in any of them, and it is madness to circulate and believe in such stuff. We have got to subjugate the rebels, and it is a tremendous job. If we can't whip them *thoroughly*, their independence will be secured, and we cannot be certain that they will not subjugate us. If newspaper talk of putting the rebellion under foot would answer, we should have had Jeff. Davis hanged long ago; but to our shame it must be spoken, that we have talked better than we have fought.

The great battle of Saturday and to-day has not yet become known here in its details, so I will not attempt any comments. The fate of the nation now swings in the balance. The anxiety is fearful here among all who have brains enough to comprehend the situation, and the magnitude of the interests at stake. Of one thing all feel certain, and it is that Burnside will do all he can. There is *hesitation* no longer. We have come at last to bold, stand-up fighting, and if we lose the battle, it cannot be helped—perhaps we shall have lost all. If we gain it, the rebellion must be on its closing breath—it cannot hold out much longer.

The Chronicle has got a hit at somebody this morning—who I cannot guess—but it is couched in such singular language that I must quote it:

"High-toned journalism can have nothing whatever to do with the redress of alleged individual wrongs in this crisis. It is impossible that injustice shall not come to some in the transaction of public affairs, even in the best of times, and in the best regulated governments. But the journalist who sets himself up as a redresser of individual wrongs dwarfs the soul, and ruins his influence. He must deal with the collective man. He must train his powers to battle with collective wrong. And he must direct his reproofs and his sarcasms at collective weakness. To deal with the individual case is to seek to impoverish or replenish the ocean by trifling with the mountain brook. It is in the power of no man to destroy either sin, suffering or weakness, in detail. These are but evidences of the deterioration of the general health of the world. The remedy must be applied to the entire system, and not to isolated symptoms."

Now, my idea is that the very best way to wage war upon "collective wrong" is to do it "in detail." For instance, if we are warring against slavery, exhibit individual cases of wrong so as to enlist the sympathy of mankind. Or if we are endeavoring to chastise official corruption, let facts against a particular man be published.

AVON.

A MERRY CHRISTMAS FOR POOR CHILDREN.

TO THE CHILDREN: Surely the children of the rich and the happy will be glad to make at least a few days in the year pleasant to the children of the poor. And on these merry holidays when around many a cheerful fire-side, the children gather from far and near for the Christmas Festival, they will think of those who have no fireside and no home. Our *News Boys* were disappointed of their thanksgiving dinner; so we propose—if parents and children will give us the means—to make up for it on Christmas day, by causing that day to be one of the happiest in the year for them—with a good dinner, plenty of clothes and shoes and any other presents we can give. The poor girls at the *Girls Lodging House* are to have a pleasant time, and the little Germans at the *German School*, and the poor Irish and colored children at *Cottage Place School*, and at all our other schools, if we receive money for shoes or clothes or food in time. Remember that we have some 1,200 of those poor children. But some of you would like best to give a *home* to a street child. We mean to send off a holiday-party of orphan and destitute children to the West, perhaps numbering fifty. The total cost for each child is $11 40.

Who will make a Christmas present of a home?

The gifts can be sent to the CHILDREN'S AID SOCIETY, 11 Clinton Hall, Astor Place, New York, or the money to J. E. Williams, Esq., Treasurer, Metropolitan Bank.

C. L. BRACE, Secretary.

New Publications.

STORIES FROM THE LIFE OF THE TEACHER. Retold by a Disciple. Boston: Walker, Wise & Co. Sold in New York by David G. Francis, 506 Broadway.

This is a book for children, not excepting, however, those "of a larger growth" than that term is generally understood to embrace. The author, Rev. O. B. FROTHINGHAM, of New York, in his preface, thus explains his object: "The parables of Jesus were spoken by an Oriental to Orientals, and were understood immediately, even in the brief form in which they were uttered. They were so imbued with the spirit of the people to whom they were addressed, so native to the soil, so fragrant with the aroma of the ground, so bright with the Eastern sunshine, so breezy with the Eastern air—they were so full of local allusions, they reflected so clearly the manners and customs of the country and the period, that no amplification was necessary. The reciter could leave his auditors to fill up the empty spaces in the little narrative. * * * The short tale of two or three sentences was long and full to those whose fancy could furnish instantly all that the speaker omitted, and could put in the requisite light, shade and color on the spot. But all this advantage of time, place, knowledge, genius, is lost for us. They who have the information necessary to make the parables speak commonly lack the fancy, and they who have the fancy commonly lack the information. It has been the object of the writer of this little book to supply, so far as he could, these grave but inevitable deficiencies; to make the parables of Jesus suggest to our minds, in some degree, what they suggested to the minds of their first hearers; to put in, if he may say so, the Eastern climate, the sunshine, the atmosphere, the scenery; to revive the associations with places and people, and to connect them with the circumstances that gave them birth. * * * He has woven into the stories descriptions of the country, sketches of popular habits and observances, details of out-door and in-door life in Judea; he has drawn on his own fancy for connecting links and incidental details; he has thrown in passages of dialogue and of soliloquy; he has amplified hints; he has endeavored to give here and there something of dramatic movement to the narrative, as one naturally would do were he telling the stories himself to a company of children. In a word, he is attempting to do for the Westerns what the Orientals did for themselves."

It is hardly necessary to say that the "Disciple" has brought to his task a mind enriched by the noblest culture and a heart in finest sympathy with "the Teacher," and to us it seems that he has entirely succeeded. The work attests alike the artist and the Christian.

THE BLACK MAN, his Antecedents, his Genius, and his Achievements. By WILLIAM WELLS BROWN, author of "Clotelle," "Sketches of People and Places Abroad," "Miralda, or the Beautiful Quadroon," etc. *Ex pede Herculem.* New York: Thomas Hamilton, 48 Beekman st. Sold at the Anti-Slavery Offices in Boston, New York and Philadelphia.

Mr. Brown needs no introduction to our readers. Born into slavery in Kentucky, he had the enterprise and the courage to break his chains and escape to the North. For many years he has devoted himself to labors for the welfare of the colored race and to the task of self-education; with what success, those who have heard him on the platform or read the productions of his pen, need not to be told. In this volume of 288 pages, dedicated "to the Advocates and Friends of Negro Freedom and Equality, wherever found," he gives us authentic and well-written sketches of more than fifty colored men and women, of the past and present time, who, by their talents, attainments, and earnest devotion to the welfare of their race have made themselves more or less eminent, and whose lives and labors afford the best possible illustration of the intellectual and moral capacity of the Negro, and the best possible answer to those who make his alleged inferiority an excuse for his enslavement. Among those whose biographies are contained in this volume we notice the following: Nat Turner, Madison Washington, Toussaint L'Ouverture, Alexandre Dumas, Ira Aldridge, Phillis Wheatley, Denmark Vesey, Frederick Douglass, President Geffrard, Charles Lenox Remond, Robert Purvis, John S. Rock, Sir Edward Jordan, etc.

THE LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW (L. Scott & Co.'s American edition) for October contains eight articles with the following titles: Les Miserables; The Plantonic Dialogues; Modern Political Memoirs; Belgium; The Waterloo of Thiers and Victor Hugo; Aids to Faith; China—the Taeping Rebellion; The Confederate Struggle and Recognition.

Of the last-named article it is enough to say that its spirit is the same with that of the article on the same subject in Blackwood, from which we gave extracts last week. It is trying to the patience of an American to find the pages of a British magazine of commanding influence made the vehicle of the most malignant and studied misrepresentation of the character and origin of the great struggle between civilization and barbarism, slavery and freedom, now raging in this country.

THE EDINBURGH REVIEW (L. Scott & Co.'s American edition) contains eleven articles, of which we give the titles, as follows: Solar Chemistry, the Herculanean Papyri; The Mussulmans in Sicily; The Supernatural; The English in the Eastern Seas; The Legend of St. Swithun; Mrs. Oliphant's Life of Edward Irving; The Mausoleum at Halicarnassus: Hops at Home and Abroad; Prince Eugene of Savoy; The American Revolution.

The last of these papers, though less bitter than that in the London *Quarterly* on the same subject, is an elaborate plea in the interest of slaveholding rebels.

JOHN JOLLIFFE.—We desire to call the attenion of our readers to the card of JOHN JOLLIFFE, Esq., in another column. Mr. Jolliffe practiced many years at the Cincinnati Bar, where he attained to a high rank. His professional skill and his philanthropic interest were alike engaged in the well-remembered case of Margaret Garner, and he has rendered valuable service on behalf of other hunted fugitives from slavery. He is a man of large intellect and high moral character, and a true friend of the cause of freedom, for which he has made large sacrifices. We do not hesitate to recommend him to those who may need the services of a lawyer in Washington.

DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENCE.—We hereby acknowledge the receipt of "Papers Relating to Foreign Affairs"—a volume of 910 octavo pages—kindly forwarded to us from the State Department. We have filled our first page with extracts, and in another column have commented thereon as duty seemed to require.

OBITUARY.

MRS ALMINA CARY SWIFT.

Died, in this city, on Thursday morning, December 11th, aged 31 years, Mrs. ALMINA CARY SWIFT, formerly of Cincinnati, and youngest sister of ALICE and PHŒBE CARY.

This short, sad sentence will hardly excite the surprise of the many friends who have known, for months past, that Mrs. Swift's health was sinking with steady decline toward the grave. Her beautiful life closed at last with a victorious death, and now leaves behind it a hallowed memory. Without exaggeration, we may say that her life and its example, as they appeared to our own observation, had almost no parallel within our personal knowledge. She possessed one of those rare characters which, by a beautiful impressiveness, not only win homage from all hearts, but lend new grace to womanhood and new honor to human nature. Amiable, intelligent, gentle, affectionate, she was not only the sunshine of her own house, but, beyond it, was beloved as few are beloved by many in this world. Her sympathy with every great and good cause was noble and comprehensive, and her interest in the issues of these troublous days was intense. During her wearisome illness, her unmurmuring patience, which was touching to witness, gave a tender proof of the sustaining grace of the Heavenly Father, and as her Christian soul grew ripe for departure, her countenance, instead of wearing the shadow of death, almost literally shone with the light of the other world. Her long personal kindness to the poor brought to her burial some who came clad in the garments which her own hands had bestowed, to weep at the loss which thus left their poverty poorer. At her own request, her funeral was conducted by a few of her intimate friends, and her body was laid at rest in Greenwood, in a beautiful spot on the slope of a hill overlooking the broad bay.

Farewell! A little time, and we
Who knew thee well and loved thee here,
One after one shall follow thee
As pilgrims through the gate of fear,
Which opens on eternity.
Yet shall we cherish not the less
All that is left our hearts meanwhile;
The memory of thy loveliness
Shall round our weary pathway smile;
Thoughts of thy clear-eyed sense of duty,
Thy generous scorn of all things wrong,
The truth, the strength, the graceful beauty
Which blended in thy song.
All lovely things by thee beloved
Shall whisper to our hearts of thee;
The green hills where thy childhood roved,
Yon river, winding to the sea—
These, in our view, shall henceforth take
A tenderer meaning for thy sake;
And all thou lovedst of earth and sky
Seem sacred to thy memory.—*Whittier.*

ANDREW ROBESON.

Died, in Boston, on Monday, Dec. 8th, very suddenly, ANDREW ROBESON, Esq., of New Bedford, aged 74 years.

Mr. Robeson had just entered the car to proceed to Jamaica Plain, on a visit to his son, William R. Robeson, Esq., when he was struck with apoplexy, which instantly terminated his earthly life—a life distinguished for business enterprise and usefulness as a citizen, for noble liberality as a philanthropist, for moral intrepidity and rare independence as a reformer, for all those traits becoming a perfect gentleman, for the most exemplary uprightness, benevolence and integrity of character as a man. In him were conspicuously blended dignity without hauteur, modesty without timidity, firmness without contumacy, radicalism without fanaticism, amiableness without weakness, and generosity without recklessness. His personal presence was handsome and imposing, his countenance habitually radiant, his manners such as true politeness alone dictates. He took an abiding interest in all the progressive movements of the age, and was among the earliest to espouse them, never holding back for fear of losing caste or popular consideration, but ever believing that

"He's a slave who dare not be
In the right with two or three"—

yes, in the right, though standing *alone* in the midst of a perverse generation. Among the earliest to espouse the hated but divinely blessed cause of the oppressed in our land, he was ever ready to aid it by his purse, his testimony, and his example. An honored officer of the American and Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Societies, for many years, we feel that a pillar of strength has fallen, and are conscious of a great bereavement. He stood high on our list of personal friends, and his memory will be gratefully and admiringly cherished to the end of life. His religion found neither strength nor solace in creeds or ceremonies, in times or seasons; but it flowered out in a trustful recognition of the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of the human race, in justice and benevolence, in love of right and abhorrence of wrong, in the highest virtues and the noblest fruits.—*Ed. Liberator.*

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL CURTIS.

Among the officers slain in the fight of last Saturday was Lieut.-Col. CURTIS, commanding the Fourth Rhode Island Regiment, in Sumner's corps. He was killed at the head of his regiment on Saturday afternoon, while gallantly leading it in battle.

Col. Curtis was but twenty-six years old; but he had won for himself already a reputation which justified the rank to which he had been promoted. He entered the service as Adjutant, with the rank of Lieutenant; fought at Roanoke Island under Burnside, and was promoted to the Lieutent-Colonelcy at the request of Burnside. He fought at the battle of Antietam, where his regiment was badly cut up, losing all but about two hundred of its men and nearly all its field and line officers. Lieut.-Col. Curtis and Capt. Baffrem, of this regiment, when it was withdrawn, took muskets and cartridge boxes from dead soldiers, joined the Fifty-first Pennsylvania, and fought the battle out, escaping unhurt.

Col. Curtis was formerly an engineer on the Central Park. He was a son of the late George Curtis, President of the Continental Bank of this city, and brother of George William Curtis.—*Evening Post.*

REV. ARTHUR B. FULLER.

The Chaplain of the Sixteenth Massachusetts regiment, Rev. ARTHUR B. FULLER, brother of Margaret Fuller, passed through this city several weeks since, on his return to the army, from which he had been obliged to retire for a time by a severe attack of fever. His zeal to help the regiments across the river at Fredericksburg has cost him his life. He appears to have been among the foremost ranks of his "boys," as he affectionately called them when he fell. At first thought it might seem to be an unnecessary act of rashness for a chaplain to put himself in this position; but, knowing the man, we are able to appreciate the probable motives by which he was governed. Between the men and himself there existed a close fraternal sympathy. He doubtless saw that his presence might encourage them in the hour of danger, and the moment was critical. His own life was bound up with theirs, and the sense of duty with which he endeavored to inspire them in his religious teachings could not be more strongly impressed than by the example of following it himself, without regard to personal exposure. We can conceive of his exerting all the influence of a superior officer at such a moment.

Mr. Fuller was one of the most genial of men. It has been his lot on repeated occasions in hospital service to administer comfort and consolation to wounded rebels, between whom and the loyal soldiers he made no distinction as they lay helpless on their cots side by side. On one occasion his kindness was repelled by a soldier who said: "I am a Confederate, and don't want your help." He answered that he "recognized no difference between men when they were suffering," and still offered his services, but the soldier repelled him and he passed on, giving indiscriminately such assistance and consolation as he could. After he had gone some distance, the rebel sent for him and said: "Sir, I see what sort of a man you are, and as I shall live but a little while, I would like you to pray with me." This little incident illustrates the character of Mr. Fuller. He was beloved as widely as he was known, and will be much lamented by his friends. He was married only a short time before the rebellion broke out, and leaves a wife and child to mourn his death.—*Evening Post.*

Proceedings of Congress.

In the Senate on Monday, Mr. Davis of Kentucky (Union) offered a resolution, that after it became manifest that an insurrection against the United States was about to break out in some of the Southern States, James Buchanan, then President, from sympathy with the conspirators and their treasonable projects, failed to take the necessary and proper measures to prevent it; wherefore, he should receive the censure and condemnation of the Senate and of the American people. Laid over. On the following day the resolution was laid on the table by a large majority.

After the expiration of the morning hour the Senate took up the resolution respecting the arrest of certain citizens of Delaware. Mr. Davis of Kentucky proceeded to speak at length in favor of the resolution arguing that the President has no authority under the Constitution to make any such arrests. The President had no right to suspend a law or define its execution. After further argument Mr. Davis admitted that the President was excusable in arresting Gov. Morehead of Kentucky. It was even commendable. It would not have been inexcusable to have arrested the leaders of the Hartford Convention; nor for Buchanan to have arrested Phillips, Cheever and those miserable miscreants. He denied that slavery was the cause of the war. It was because New England and other States had abolished slavery and commenced a crusade against the States which held on to it. He thought the people would arise and reconstruct this Union, and leave Massachusetts out in the cold and frozen region. If the war had been carried on according to the principles of the Crittenden Compromise, it would have been finished long ago.

In the House on Monday, Mr. Noell of Missouri (Union) introduced a bill, which was referred, to procure the abolishment of slavery in Missouri, and provide compensation to loyal owners. The bill provides that in case the State of Missouri adopts a system of immediate emancipation of all her slaves within a year from the first of January next, the United States shall apply ten million of six per cent thirty year bonds to the remuneration of loyal owners, and shall colonize such of the slaves as desire to leave the State. No master who has in any way aided the rebellion is to receive any compensation for the loss of his slaves.

Mr. Samuel C. Fessenden (Rep., Me.) offered the following:

Resolved, That the Proclamation of the President, of the date Sept. 22, 1862 is warranted by the Constitution; that the policy of emancipation, as indicated therein, is well adapted to hasten the restoration of peace, is well chosen as a war measure, and is an exercise of power, with proper regard to the rights of citizens and the prosperity of a free government.

Mr. Holman (Dem., Ind.) moved to lay the resolution on the table. Disagreed to—53 against 80.

The resolution was then adopted by a vote of 78 against 51, as follows:

Yeas—Aldrich, Alley, Arnold, Babbitt, Baker, Bearman, Bingham, Blair (Penn.), Blake, Buffinton, Burnham, Chamberlain, Clark, Colfax, Frederick A. Conklin, Roscoe Conkling, Cutler, Dawes, Delano, Duell, Edgerton, Edwards, Eliot, Ely, Fenton, Samuel C. Fessenden, Thomas A. D. Fessenden, Fisher, Franchot, Frank, Gooch, Goodwin, Gurley, Haight, Hickman, Hooper, Hutchins, Julian, Kelley, Kellogg (Mich.), Kellogg (Ill.), Killinger, Lansing, Loomis, Lovejoy, Low, McPherson, Mitchell, Moorehead, Morrill (Me.), Morrill (Vt.), Noell, Patten, Pike, Pomeroy, Porter, Potter, Rice (Mass.), Rice (Me.), Riddle, Rollins (N. H.), Sargeant, Sedgewick, Shellaberger, Sloan, Spaulding, Train, Trowbridge, Van Valkenburg, Van Wyck, Verree, Walker, Wall, Washburne, White (Ind.), Wilson, Windom, Worcester.

Nays—Allen (Ill.), Ancona, Bailey, Biddle, Calvert, Cobb, Cox. Cravens, Crisfield, Crittenden, Dunlop, English, Fouke, Granger, Grider, Hall, Harding, Harrison, Holman, Kerrigan, Knapp, Leary, Mallory, Maynard, Menzies, Morris, Noble, Norton, Odell, Pendleton, Perry, Price, Richardson, Robinson, Rollins (Mo.), Sheffield, Shiel, Smith, Steele (N. Y.), Stiles, Thomas (Mass), Thomas (Maryland), Vallandigham, Wadsworth, Ward, Whaley, White (Ohio), Wickliffe, Woodruff, Wright, and Yeaman.

Mr. Conway of Kansas introduced a series of resolves in relation to the war, which were tabled, yeas 131—Mr. Conway himself voting alone in the negative.

Chronicles of the War.

Latest News.

ON Thursday and Friday of last week, the Army under Gen. Burnside crossed the Rappahannock on pontoon bridges at and below Fredericksburg, Virginia. The movement was executed with skill and success, our soldiers displaying great bravery. The rebel sharpshooters tried to prevent the erection of the bridges, and volunteers to cross the river in small boats to dislodge the enemy were called for, and sprang out of the ranks by thousands. Only one hundred, however, were selected, who crossed the river in the most dashing style, drove out the sharpshooters at the point of the bayonet, and captured a large number of them, who were brought over the river and secured. The bridges were then completed, and the city was immediately occupied by our forces, the rebels being driven back to their defensive works. Gen. Franklin's division crossed three miles below the town. After the occupation of the river front on Thursday night, about a hundred of our men were killed and wounded while driving the rebels through and out of the city.

On Saturday, Gen. Burnside made an attempt, with his whole available force, to carry the enemy's entrenchments, but was repulsed with the loss, it is said, of from eight to ten thousand in killed and wounded. During Monday night, in the midst of a heavy wind and rain storm, our troops evacuated their positions on the opposite side of the river, undiscovered, and, consequently, unmolested by the enemy. The artillery was the first to cross, and the last of the infantry brought up the rear shortly after daylight, and as soon as the last man was over safely, the pontoon bridges were removed, thus cutting off all communication between the two shores. Our wounded were all safely brought over.

The Army of the Potomac, therefore, is once more on the North side of the Rappahannock, and the relative positions of the opposing forces are now the same as on Wednesday of last week.

We must refer our readers to other sources for further details.

News of the landing of the Banks Expedition has not yet been received, and it is not known to the public where it has gone. Great disappointment is felt that it has not been found cooperating with Burnside, by a movement on the South, in the capture of Richmond.

The Army and the Negroes.

EVERYWHERE THE AMERICAN GENERAL RECEIVES HIS MOST USEFUL AND RELIABLE INFORMATION FROM THE NEGRO, *who hails his coming as the harbinger of Freedom.*"—*Wm. H. Seward's Official Dispatch to Mr. Adams.*

EFFECTS OF THE PROCLAMATION.—The Washington *Morning Chronicle* publishes a letter from a Brigadier-General in Gen. Grant's army, dated at Corinth, Miss., November 18th, which gives important testimony as to the effect of the President's proclamation: "No doubt I am in a position to know as well, if not better than any one else, of the feeling in Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi, as from this outpost we have daily information from all these States, and I assure you that the terror that it (the proclamation) is creating in these States is not and cannot be realized by the North. They of course dread the advance of our armies, and have some hopes of checking it, but as yet they have not discovered any means of checking the wide-spread insubordination among their slaves that is showing itself. They have taken them from most of the public works, almost entirely from their army, and directly south of us they do not allow them to go to the cities, towns, or near the railroads. Many planters are leaving their homes with their families for the cities, while others are taking their slaves to other States. As our armies advance, the slaves boldly leave and come to us, and are very uneasy even in the interior of Georgia and Alabama, and, as the planters say, are of not much account to work. I know this to be so; I receive it in so many ways, and always the same, that it cannot be otherwise. If the policy is carried out faithfully, it will demoralize their armies, for the slave-owners are clamorous to go to their homes and families. Thousands are leaving without any permits, and in utter defiance of their orders and laws. I hope the clamors after the late elections will not find any weak-kneed men in the present Congress. Since commencing this letter, two of our soldiers, escaped prisoners from Atlanta, Georgia, have come in here, and say, agreeing with all the rest, that the slaveholders use every means in their power to keep the proclamation from the slaves."

A letter from Southern Virginia says that the negroes in that section are now free to all intents and purposes. Farms are cultivated, and other branches of industry go on as before, by the aid of colored hands, but their labor is paid for, and paid for well, too, for the average wages received by the ex-slaves is $12 per month. One man who did own one year ago 250 head of "niggers," now confesses that he likes the emancipation proclamation, because it makes the "niggers" work better. Those who have remained with him are paid liberally, and he is satisfied. That sufficiently accounts for the increased amount of work performed.

THE CONTRABANDS.—*Howard's Division, Va., Dec. 8.*—All the male slaves seem to be removed from the immediate vicinity of the rebel camps. Of late no contrabands come in. Those already attached to our army are generally industrious and faithful. They show a commendable thirst for knowledge. Nightly, around the great out-door fire at the headquarters of this Division, a dozen of all ages are poring over their spelling-books, and persuading some one to give them a lesson. Several of the boys who did not

Miscellaneous Department.

PETERBORO, Dec. 9, 1862.

OLIVER JOHNSON—*My Dear Friend:* Last evening I received the enclosed poem from Elder D. Williams, of Oxford, Chemung County. It strikes me as good, and worthy of a place in your columns. But you know better than I do what is good poetry. * * * * *

Your friend, GERRIT SMITH.

THE UNION, AS IT SHALL BE.

On the rocks we read the story
Of the revolutions grand,
Which in ages past and hoary
Swept o'er mountain, sea and land;
There we trace the mighty stages
Of the world's historic time;
And we mark the buried ages
By their monuments sublime;
And the lesson old earth teaches,
By her grand symbolic forms,
Is, that she all beauty reaches,
Through upheavals, fires and storms.

History points with solemn finger
To her records dim and old,
And, as thoughtfully we linger,
Still the lesson there is told;
Through the struggles and the burnings,
Through the stern and frantic strife,
Through the nations' fierce upturnings,
Put they on a fresher life;
Then they pass to higher stages
Both of beauty and renown;
In the conflict of the ages
Greatness doth the nations crown.

Lo! we feel the wild upheaval
Of a nation's hidden fires;
Right is battling with the Evil,
And the smoke to heaven aspires;
War, tumultuous and red-lighted,
Sweepeth with sirocco blast,
And our green young land is blighted,
As the tempest whirleth past:
Not the death-throe of the nation
Is this wild and awful hour,
'Tis its painful transformation
To a nobler life of power.

As the fossils huge were buried
In the massy folds of rock,
So our Saurian crime is hurried
To its death-throe in the shock;
'Neath the Union's broad foundations
Shall the monster Slavery lie,
While the coming generations
Ponder o'er the mystery:
Through long periods of beauty,
From its dark transition time,
In its march of power and duty,
Shall the Union live sublime.

Nobler, freer, and more glorious,
Shall the future Union be;
O'er the despot's rod victorious,
All the lands its strength shall see;
North and South in one dominion,
One in freedom evermore,
O'er one land on loving pinion
Shall the lordly eagle soar;
Northern lake, and Southern harbor,
Cotton field, and prairie wide,
Seaside slope, and greenwood arbor,
All shall boast the Union's pride.

On, through all the stormy trial,
God shall bring us on our way,
Let us meet the stern denial,
Let us watch and wait and pray;
Up from all this tribulation
We shall rise a nobler land,
And in peerless exaltation
'Mid the nations envied stand:
Welcome storm, and fire, and peril!
Fields elysian yet shall rise,
O'er our war-worn wastes and sterile,
Wrought by freemen's sacrifice.

RATIE:

A TRUE STORY OF A LITTLE HUNCHBACK.

BY MATTIE GRIFFITH.

[We are assured that the following beautiful story, written for our columns by the author of the "Autobiography of a Female Slave," is in every particular strictly true; and we suspect that the children will not read it without tears in their eyes.—*Eds. Independent.*]

I WANT to tell the children a story of a poor little slave-girl who lived and died away down South.

This little girl's name was Rachel, but they used to call her Ratie. She was a hunchback and a dwarf, with an ugly black face, coarse and irregular features, but a low, pleasant voice, and nice manners. Nobody ever scolded Ratie, for she never deserved it. She always did her work—the little that was assigned her—with a cheerful heart and willing hand. This work was chiefly to gather up little bits of chips in baskets, or collect shavings from the carpenter's shops, and take them to the cabins or the great kitchen, where they were used for kindling fires. She had a sweet, gentle spirit, and a low, cheery laugh that charmed everybody. Even the white folks who lived up at the great house loved her, and somehow felt better when she was near.

Ratie used to go out into the fields on Summer days, or in the early Spring, and pick the first flowers. Later in the season she caught the butterflies or grasshoppers, but she never hurt them. She would look at the bright spangled wings of the butterflies, or the green coats of the pretty, chirping grasshoppers, with an eye full of admiration; and she always seemed sorry when she gave them up. The lambs used to run to her, and eat from her hands. If she went into the park, the deer came to her side lovingly, and the young fawns sported and played around her. No one harmed or expected harm from Ratie.

Poor little hunchback! Many an idle traveller has paused in his slow wanderings to listen to her song as she sat on the wayside stump, knitting stockings for the work-people, and singing old snatches of songs and airs that bring back to the heart glimpses of the paradise of our lost childhood! No broad-throated robin ever poured out a wilder, fuller gush of melody than the songs of this untaught child!

Little Ratie's days were passed in the same even routine, without thought or chance of change. Up at the house they loved her, and her young mistresses used to supply her with cast-off ribbons and shawls and fancy trappings from their own wardrobes, which she prized very much—delighting to deck out her little odd person with these old fineries.

Once, as she sat singing on an old stile, and knitting a stocking, a rough sort of gentleman, driving by in his neat little tilbury, stopped and listened to Ratie's song. When he looked at the strange child he felt a little shocked, but he called out in a loud voice,

"Hallo, Dumpey Blackie, here is a fip for your song"; and he tossed her a small coin, "Take that, and give me another song."

The child was pleased at the gift, took it up from where it had rolled on the ground at her feet, and soon began another of her wild little ditties. As she sang on, she forgot the exact words, and put in some of her own, which harmonized just as well with the air. The stranger was so much pleased that he gave her another fip, and called for another song, and still another. At length he asked the child to whom she belonged. She told him that she belonged to her old master.

"And what is your old master's name?" asked the gentleman.

Ratie, who had never been two miles beyond the borders of the plantation, laughed, thinking it a fine joke that anybody should not know the name of her "old master," for, to her, he was the most important personage in the world. So she only laughed and shook her head derisively in answer.

"Will you not tell me his name?" again asked the stranger.

But the child smiled still more incredulously, so the gentleman deemed it best to follow her home, which he accordingly did, and found that Col. Williams, a rich old planter, was the owner of this little melodious blackbird.

The stranger alighted and asked to see Col. Williams. After a little conversation he proposed to buy Ratie from her master. Col. Williams had never thought of selling the little deformity. He kept her on the place more through charity than aught else. The extent of her musical genius was unappreciated, and even unknown to him; but as she was a happy little creature, much liked by all the family, and was only a trifling expense, he had never thought of parting with her. Now, however, when a handsome price was offered, she assumed something like importance and interest to his eyes. He had her called into the house, and she obeyed with great alacrity, coming in neatly dressed, with a fresh white apron and sundry bits of bright-colored ribbons tied round her head and neck.

"Give us one of your best songs, Ratie," said her master.

The girl broke out in a wild, warbling strain, clear, bird-like and musical, filling the long room with gushes of melody, until the lofty arches echoed and reechoed with the wild notes. When she had finished, the enthusiastic stranger exclaimed:

"That throat is a mint of gold!"

And so little hunchback Ratie sang song after song until she exhausted herself, when her master sent her off to the slave-quarters, where she continued her ditties out under the broad, soft light of the low-hanging Southern moon.

The gentlemen sat up late that night, talking upon different subjects, but, before they parted, it was arranged that the stranger should buy Ratie at the high price he offered.

The next morning, long before the sun rose, little Ratie was up, walking through the quarter. She stooped down to look at every drop of dew that glittered and sparkled on the green leaves and shrubs, and when the great, round, golden sun began to creep up the eastern sky, and set it all ablaze with red and gold and purple clouds, glorious as the pavilion of the prophet, Ratie's little spirit danced within her, and broke forth in hymns of worship such as the wise men long ago—eighteen hundred years past—sang at the foot of a little manger in a stable in Bethlehem of Judea!

The child was too young and ignorant to know the meaning of the emotions which fluttered and set on fire her own soul, but she was none the less happy for this ignorance. God is very good!

As Ratie wandered on, singing to herself, she grew so happy that the rush of passionate fervor half-frightened her. Tears came to her eyes, and choked the song in her throat. She paused in her walk, and seated herself on a little rock that lay in one corner of the quarter. As she sat there alone, with her own bright, singing spirit, she might have beheld a lovely, white-robed angel unfurl its pure wing just over her, and gracefully incline its radiant head, as if listening to a song worthy of the music of Saint Cecilia herself.

Ratie continued to sing and weep, wherefore she could not tell; but a chorus of white-winged angels might have answered the question. By-and-by the great, rusty bell of the quarter rang out from its hoarse, iron tongue the morning summons for the slaves to assemble. Ragged, tattered, unshorn and unshaven, dirty, ill and angry-looking, the negroes—men, women and children, in large numbers—collected in the quarter-yard, where the overseer, an ugly, harsh white man, with a pistol in his belt, knife at his side, and whip in hand, stood to call the roll. At the mention of each name, a slave came forward, saying with a bow,

"Here I am, massa."

Ratie, who had no particular work to do, went limping on past the place of the roll-call, when she saw her master and the strange gentleman coming toward her. She did not, however, notice them. They were talking together quite earnestly, and looking at her. Her master called out,

"Stop, Ratie, come this way."

She obeyed the order with pleasing readiness.

"Ratie," said the master, "how do you like this gentleman?"

The child smiled, but made no answer in words. The master also smiled as he added:

"He thinks that you sing very prettily, and he has bought you. He will be very kind and good to you, and as soon as you have had breakfast, you must get your things ready to go off with him. Here is a present for you, and he tossed her a bright, shining, silver coin. The child seized the money, but did not seem to comprehend her master's words. To be "sold," to her implied some sort of disgrace or hardship which she did not think she deserved; besides, she had always lived on the "old plantation." She knew no other home; she did not want to leave "the people" of the quarter, nor did she feel happy in going away from the "white folks," particularly the "young mistresses," who had always been so kind to her. She had, also, some vague yearning of heart to be close to her mammy's grave, rough as it was; and near also to grandpap's cabin, where she roasted apples and potatoes on Winter nights.

She looked around upon the familiar quarter—the well-known people—the row of cabins—and strained her gaze far away to the rolling fields in the distance, where the negroes, like a swarm of crows, were busy at their morning's work; and as she gazed, the whole landscape flushed with the bloom and beauty of the risen sun, and then the wild, pealing horn called the "sons of toil" from their morning hour's work to their frugal breakfast.

Ratie's little heart began to beat in its narrow limits as the word "sold" wrote itself there, and broke through her comprehension with all its fancied horrors! She started quickly after her master, and, with the freedom of a petted slave, caught hold of the skirt of his coat. Col. Williams turned suddenly round; and there, crouching on the earth at his feet, was the hunchback child. She held up the money which he had given her.

"Master," she asked, "why has you sold me?" (the voice was tremulous and sweet.) "Master, why has you sold me? I has not behaved bad, as de men did dat you sold last year. I doesn't steal nor tell lies. Is it bekase I'se lazy? I do all de work dey gives me to do. I'll do more. I'll go into de fields. I'll plant and pick de cotton, but please don't sell me. I doesn't want to leave de old place. Mammy is buried here, so I wants to be when I dies. I wants allers to live here."

The stranger and Col. Williams were much moved. They did not venture to speak to the child, but tried to get away from the sound of her plaintive cries.

When the negroes drew around their morning meal, and learned that Ratie was sold, they were unhappy, and refused to eat anything. They looked sorrowfully at one another, and turned away from their untasted food.

"Poor Ratie!" exclaimed the old negroes, as they shook their heads in mournful discontent, "we shall not hear any more her sweet songs in de evenin' time."

The young mistresses came to Ratie with kind gifts and kinder words. They told her, with tears in their eyes, how sorry they were to part with her, how good they knew she had been, and how much they wished their papa would allow her to stay. Words and acts like these softened the blow to the unfortunate child, and strengthened her for the coming trial. She looked up smilingly through her tears as she said to her young mistresses:

"Please not to cry for me. God is good, and de preacher says he is everywhar; so I shall not be fur from de old plantation."

When she was starting away, each of the negroes brought her some little gift, such as cotton handkerchiefs, old ribbon ends, bright-colored glass beads, or autumn berries, dried and strung on threads for neck ornaments. Each of these humble little tokens possessed an individual interest which touched some spring in Ratie's little heart. When the hour of separation came, she had nerved herself to the highest courage of which she was capable. She took leave of each of the slaves, all of them calling down in rude but affectionate words the blessings of God upon her life. An old, lame negro man, whom the slaves addressed as Grandpap, hobbled from his cabin on a broken crutch to utter his farewell.

"Good by, Ratie," he began, and his voice choked with emotion; "good by, little Ratie, and may de good Lord be wid you. Him dat keres for de poor, de lowly and de despised, up yonder, way fur and high up dere, is a God dat loves all of His chillens alike. He doesn't kere fur de color ob de skin or de quality ob de hair. In His sight, wool is jist as good as de fair, straight hair. He loves de heart, and looks straight and deep into dat, and keres fur nothin' else. Never you be afeard, Ratie, Him'll take kere ob you, an' all sich as you, bekase He loves dem dat He smites and afflicts. Now, He didn't break your poor little back for nothin'. Him has Him's eye upon you. You is a lamb ob de fold dat de great Shepherd will go fur, and long to look arter. Him holds you in the holler ob Him's hand, an' He'll keep you dar—mind what I tell you. Good by, Ratie. God bless you. Allers trust Him. 'Member my last words; dat is, allers trust Him. Look to Him, and He'll never forget you."

As he uttered these words in a slow, oracular manner, he brushed a tear from his eye with the back of his old, hard hand, and looking tenderly toward the child, his lips moved slowly, and the words seemed to melt unheard in the thin, morning air. He turned from her and hobbled off in the direction of his cabin.

The other slaves were more passionately demonstrative in their farewells, but little Ratie bore up with a beautiful and proud composure.

* * * * * * *

The new owner proved very kind to her (as who, with a touch of humanity, could be otherwise to so gentle a creature?), but her heart had received a blow from which it could not recover.

The master took her to New Orleans, intending to have her taught music, that she might make money for him; but the poor child pined for the "old plantation" and "de old folks at home"—the kind people—"my people," as she fondly called them—with whom she had been brought up.

In the great city of New Orleans she was literally lost. She missed the free country air, the green trees, the sweet singing-birds, the fields blooming with early flowers, and the meadows and running brooks. It was easy to see that the little hunchback was not happy. She grew thinner and thinner, and her voice lost its flexible sweetness, its clear and liquid roundness of tone. At last she fell away to a mere skeleton, and then sharp burning fever set in, and little Ratie was taken down to her bed. Day and night, in the delirium of fever, she raved for "de old plantation" and her own people.

The new master promised, when she got better, to take her back to her old home—at least for a little while. But, alas! she never grew any better, and faded slowly away inch by inch, drop by drop, until one evening, just at sundown, in the gay city of New Orleans, little Ratie breathed her last.

Just before she died, she lifted her head from the pillow, and, resting on her hand, said:

"Don't you see, over dar," pointing eastward, "is de old plantation? How pretty and nice it looks; and dar is all de peoples at work; how busy dey is! But I is not gwine dar. I doesn't want to, any more. Dere up dar is God's plantation, and it is betterer far. Dere is no slaves dar, but all is free and happy—loving friends; and it is dar dat I wants to go; and I hopes dat all de plantation folks will be dar, or soon come to me."

So she died!

When they heard of her death at the old plantation, they were much distressed. One of the old negroes said that, late in the evening, down at the lower end of the quarter, he distinctly saw, near her mammy's rude grave, the shadow of the little hunchback, Ratie.

A DEATHLESS LOVE.

Oh sing that plaintive sang, dear May!
Ance mair, ere life I tyne;
There's no in a' the world, dear bairn,
A voice sae sweet as thine.
Alang life's brig I've tottered lang;
The broken arch is near;
And when I fa', I fain wad hae
Thy warbling in my ear.

Oh sing again that plaintive sang!
It waukens memories sweet,
That slumbered in the past afar,
Whare youth an' bairn-time meet.
I roam through woods wi' berries rich,
Or owre the breezy hills
Unwearied wander far, to dream
Beside love-hallowed rills.

Sit owre beside me, winsome bairn,
And let me kiss thy broo;
Wi' baith thy warm wee haans press mine—
Oh would the end come noo!
Or would—but 'tis a sinfu' wish,
As sinfu' as it's vain—
We could not sit for ever thus,
Nor thou a child remain.

There's nane I love like thee, dear bairn—
Thou ken'st nae why, I ween?
Thou only hast thy grannie's smile,
Thou only her blue een;
Thou only wilt the village maids
Like her in sang excel;
Thou only hast her brow and cheek,
Wi' rosy dimple dell.

It's mony weary years since she
Was 'neath the gowans laid,
Yet aft I hear her on the brae,
And see her waving plaid;
And often yet, in lanely hours,
Returns the thrill o' pride
I felt, when first we mutual love
Confessed on Lavern side.

They say there's music in the storm
That tower and tree owreturns,
And beauty in the smooring drift
That hides the glens and burns;
And mercy in the fate that from
The waefu' husband tears
The angel o' a happy hame,
The love o' early years:

But he whase house the storm has wrecked,
Nae music hears it breathe;
Wha e'er saw beauty in dio drift
That happ'd a lover wi' death?
Oh wha, when fate wi' ruthless haun'
His life's ae flower lays low,
Can breathe a grateful prayer, and feel
There's mercy in the blow?

Sae thought I when her een I closed,
And, though the thought was wrang,
It haunted me when to the fields
My meals nae mair she brang;
And often by the lane dykeside
A tearfu' grace was sain;*
And aft, alas! wi' bitter heart
The Books at e'en I ta'en.

Nane think how sadly owre my head
The lang, lang years hae passed;
Nane ken how near its end has crept,
The langest and the last.
But I fu' brawly ken; for, May,
Your grannie cam' yestreen,
And joy and hope were in her smile,
And welcome in her een.

Sit near me, May; sit nearer yet!
My heart at time stauns still:
'Tis sweet to fa' asleep for aye
By sic a blithesome rill,
My thoughts are wanderin, bairn. The veil
O' heaven aside seems drawn,
The deepenin' autumn gloamin 's turned
To summer's brightest dawn.

My een grows heavy, May, and dim.
What unco sounds I hear!
It seems a sweeter voice than thine
That's croonin' in my ear.
Lean owre me wi' thy grannie's face,
And waefu' glisteuin' ee;
Lean kindly owre me, bairn, for nane
Maun close my een but thee.

—*Blackwood.* DAVID WINGATE.

* *Sain*—said.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE MODERN JEWS.

[The magazine, *Once a Week*, contains in one of its late numbers an interesting sketch of the peculiar customs of the modern Israelites. We extract a few of its passages for the benefit of readers to whom those customs are unfamiliar:]

THE STAGES OF LIFE.

On the eighth day after the birth of the young Jew, he is taken to the synagogue by his father, accompanied by a godfather for circumcision. If the infant happens to be a first-born son, he is, according to Jewish jurisprudence, the property of the Cohen (who is supposed to be a descendant of the house of Aaron, but has no longer any priestly functions to perform), and must be redeemed on the thirtieth day after his birth; therefore, certain ceremonies take place, during which the father tenders the figurative sum of five shekels to the Cohen, who accepts them as a ransom.

Until he attains his thirteenth year, the young Jew is entirely under the control of his father and mother, who are supposed to be accountable for all the sins he may commit up to that period; but their responsibility ceases on the Sabbath day succeeding his thirteenth birthday, when a ceremony akin to that of confirmation takes place. The boy is called up to the reading-desk in the synagogue, and is required to read a portion of the law. If he cannot read, the chazan, or minister, does it for him, after which the father places his hands on his son's head, and solemnly renounces his accountability for his future actions.

The next important step in his career is his betrothal, which usually takes place at an early age, in accordance with the recommendation of the Jewish law. A number of friends being present, the *Kenas*, or bond inflicting a penalty on either party who shall be guilty of a breach of the agreement, is read, after which a cup is broken, as a ratification of its provisions, by the parties concerned. The marriage follows the betrothal, it may be six or twelve months afterwards, or more.

Due notice having been given at the synagogue, the minister, on the Saturday eve preceding the day fixed for the marriage, chants some sentences referring to the approaching event, and the next day the intended bridegroom has to appear in the synagogue and have certain portions of the law read over to him, and pay any arrears he may owe to the congregation.

The way in which the parties spend the morning in their respective dwellings on the wedding-day resembles, I suppose, the manner in which it is employed by Gentiles on similar occasions; those who rightly realize the awful nature of the ceremony they are about to perform, spend the hours in fasting and reading the service prepared for the day of atonement. As soon as the clock strikes the appointed hour, two men present themselves before the bridegroom, and carry him off to the synagogue, where he meets the bride, whom two female friends have brought there with her head enveloped in a veil. The same persons place the two principal performers facing each other under a silk or velvet canopy supported by four long poles; the shamas, a kind of curate and clerk combined, brings a glass of wine, which he hands to the Rabbi, who thereupon offers up a short blessing, and then gives the glass of wine to the bridegroom, who tastes it and passes it to the bride, who does likewise.

The bridegroom then takes the ring from his pocket and places it on the finger of the bride, saying after the Rabbi (in Hebrew) as he does so: "Behold! thou art betrothed unto me with this ring, according to the rites of Moses and Israel." The Rabbi then reads the marriage contract, which is written in Chaldee, and is not understood by the parties concerned, who therefore take it on trust; after this the Chazan takes a glass of wine, and pronounces a form of words longer but similar to that pronounced by the Rabbi; the wine is given to the bridegroom and bride, and an empty glass having been placed at the feet of the former, he stamps upon it and breaks it, whereupon all present wish him *mazel tov* (good speed), and the ceremony is at an end.

If the newly married Jew has a proper sense of his religious duties, one of his first proceedings, on taking possession of his domicile, is to prepare a mezuzah. This is a tube nailed to the door-post, and contains a strip of parchment, on one side of which is inscribed one of the names applied to the Supreme Being, and on the other from the 4th to 9th verses of the 6th chapter of Deuteronomy, and from the 13th to the 21st verses of the 11th chapter of the same book. A similar tube is fastened to the jambs of the other doors in the house; and the Jew who is a strict observer of the old customs of his forefathers never leaves his house for the first time, daily, without touching the mezuzah with his lips, or bending his head to it as he passes from room to room.

DEATH AND BURIAL.

The Jew has no reason to complain of lack of seasons for rejoicings, but days of mourning and sorrow visit him as well as his Gentile brethren. But the manner in which he mourns for the dead is different as regards certain forms from that of the latter, who simply buries his grief in his own heart, and suffers it to exibit itself as little as possible. The coffin is of the simplest construction, and before the lid is placed upon it, a little earth, brought from Jerusalem, is put in. The nearest relatives of the deceased approach in succession, and request pardon of the deceased for any offence they may have given him in his lifetime, and a favorable recollection of them in the world to which he has departed. The Rabbi then makes a slight cut in the upper part of the garments of each mourner, and tears it slightly, and this rent must not be sewn up till after a certain number of days.

No woman is allowed to accompany the corpse to its last resting-place, so that the wailing of women which has chilled the heart of every traveller in the East, and which may be heard even in those islands at the antipodes where scarcely a European has set his foot, is never heard here now.

A singular custom is sometimes observed on occasions when there have been several deaths in the family within a short period. A padlock is locked and placed in the grave and the key thrown away, the object being to delay the entrance of death into the house for a longer period.

The seven days which succeed the funeral of a Jew are given up entirely to mourning. Unwashed and with naked feet the mourner sits upon the bare ground in a room open to all comers; not even a change of dress is permitted; and the only consolation which the afflicted can have during this period is derived from the perusal of religious books which cheer them with the hope of meeting the deceased hereafter. When they visit the synagogue, during the continuance of these days of mourning, a touching reception is given them by the congregation, who all rise as they enter, and make a movement towards them, the Rabbi uttering a short prayer that they may be comforted. Business may be attended to after the lapse of the seven days, but no amusement may be indulged in for thirty days thereafter; and if the mourning be for a father or mother, this rule is to be observed for a year.

DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE SEXES.

In every day life the sexes are as much on an equality as among other civilized people, but in religious matters the case is slightly different. It is in acknowledgment of this difference that the Jew is taught to offer up the following short thanksgiving along with his daily prayers: "Blessed art Thou, O Lord our God, king of the universe, who hast not made me a woman." The female infant is named in the synagogue, and that is the only ceremony to which she is subjected.

THE DEVIL IS AN ASS.

BUT it has been reserved for us to see the complete stultification of the evil one. He never had a fairer field for his operations than this country afforded, and he was among the very first to occupy it; he came the same year with the Puritans; he lost no time, he insinusted himself into the social relations of the people, he wormed himself into the government, he lubricated all great persons with his slime, he fascinated statesmen with his charmed eyes and glittering scales, he captivated them with his glozing tongue; so guilelessly he did it, so ingeniously, with such plausible reasoning, that before we were aware of his designs, he had gained a political, social, and even moral supremacy. He had corrupted nearly all the public men, he had the ear of the Executive, he stuffed the ballot-box; there seemed to be no reason why, with prudent management, he should not become the preponderating force in the nation, why he should not at last become the *one* force; and he would have done it if he had not outwitted himself, if he had not incontinently showed his hand. Good men did next to nothing. God maintained his awful reserve. There was a wonderful, a prodigious silence on the part of all who might have spoken; the two or three voices that were raised were drowned forthwith in the popular clamor, or smothered by the popular indifference. It was as if the moral world stood still to see the self-conviction of evil. Underground, swift and sure, burrowed the old serpent; now and then showing his head in some outrage on civilization, but straightway drawing it in again; so cunning, so wary, so wise, so deep, so expert in covering his track, that none thought to scotch him. It was the wiliest game up to a certain point, and then it was the craziest. Every masterstroke of policy was the best thing that could have been done for God. He offered a price for the head of Garrison, and made Garrison known; he insulted Dr. Channing, and startled Phillips to his feet; he mobbed Phillips, and raised up anti-slavery orators by the score; he agonized to get the Fugitive Slave law, and created the Republican party; he broke down the Missouri Compromise, and let the angel of the North into his dominions; he invaded Kansas, and unearthed John Brown; he hung John Brown, and multiplied avengers by the thousand. At Sumter, he was idiot enough to shock the last remaining sentiment of Northern honor. Hell should have deposed him for that blunder. Pandemonium should have excommunicated him for such a piece of nonsense; the fiends should have put the zany's cap on his head. Still there was another chance; the last hour had not come. He might still mutter the black Pater Noster, and shed the hypocritical tear, and retire to his cave for a new rehearsal of his part. Nobody wanted to bruise his head severely; most would have been glad to see it safely sheltered in its hole—many begged him to draw it in. But the madman, absurdly imputing this kind advice to fear, actually believed he had done a wise thing, and persisted. He raised his crest, and darted out his tongue, he waved his scaly tail more fiercely than ever, he spit his venom in floods, until, in self-defence, the javelin of emancipation was driven into his heart. Slavery dies by its own hand; its worst enemies have been its friends; Gov. Wise hurt it more than John Brown; Preston Brooks dealt it more fatal blows than Charles Sumner: Floyd knocked away a more powerful prop than Wendell Phillips; and Jefferson Davis has wounded it more mortally than Garrison.

Thus, my friends, it ever is. The arch-traitor is always taken in his own trap; the father of lies always tells too many; the original murderer ends in suicide. The highways of history are dotted all along with the trees on which the devil has hung himself with his own rope. It is not so weighty a matter after all to confound the wiles of the devil!

—*Rev. O. B. Frothingham.*

COUNT GUROWSKI'S DIARY.

Washington Correspondence of the Springfield Republican.

COUNT GUROWSKI'S book has just made its appearance in our bookstores, and it makes something of a noise in certain circles. It is a singular book. In it the Count writes just as he talks. He gives nobody else a chance to say a word in conversation, and his book is all one-sided. Rhetoric, objurgation, declamation. Yes, he says many shrewd things. Those who have lived in Washington for the past eighteen months, and who have taken an occasional peep behind the curtain, will recognize the fact that he tells some government secrets in the book. He tells them generally in a very ugly way. He is not very courteous to his friends Sumner and Wilson, and I think it will be the verdict of all impartial men, that Mr. Seward cannot be blamed for dismissing from the State department a clerk who hated and despised him, as the Count owns he did. It seems that Count Gurowski took it into his head to have the *Mss.* of his diary bound by the State Department binder. So with all his bitter things against Seward, he commits this private diary to the curious eyes of a stranger, and he all the time a clerk in the State Department! Seward learns what the count is doing and dismisses him, and thereupon the Count has his revenge by publishing the diary! There was more than this doubtless. The Count is very indiscreet, and did not hesitate while in his office to go around at the hotels in the evening, and abuse his chief. He did other foolish things, and among them is the publication of this volume. I pity Gov. Andrew that he should be singled out by the Count as the model statesman and patriot. Andrew, Butler and Wadsworth, the Count Gurowski believes in! All three of them are to be commissserated, certainly.

Yet this book is readable, and the Count reasons well, and is on the right side in all his sympathies. There can be no doubt that he is right in his instinctive prejudices against Mr. Seward, so far as Seward's statesmanship is concerned, as displayed in this great struggle. He never comprehended—Seward did not—the terrible future, and he does not comprehend it now, but rather tends to a blind faith in the Union, and that it never can be destroyed. I met Mr. Seward the other morning, going from the President's house to the State Department, and I stopped a moment to look at the incomprehensible man. Slender and slightly stooping, this sleek-dressed man took his way carefully along the plank walk to his office, never taking his eyes once off the ground, and undoubtedly pondering all the time some question of state. There is something wonderful in Mr. Seward. One cannot, upon looking at him carefully, believe that he was so simple all last year as to believe that this rebellion would be put down in sixty days, or ninety days. He was playing a part, and, as it now appears, an unwise part. He was trying to persuade foreign diplomats that the rebellion would soon end, and considered it to be a wise policy to err on the side of hopefulness, rather than of despondency. He is as cheerful now as ever, and was but little depressed last Summer, when it seemed as if our cause was ruined. But even Mr. Seward was astonished by the French proposal of mediation, as Mr. Dayton wrote only a week before that France was fierce against any mediation! Dayton was cheated that time by the dissembler and grand cheat, Louis Napoleon. Why will the American people worship this scamp? He is our enemy, and will yet convince the most abject of his admirers, that he is the knave that the French Republicans have always known him to be.

A FIRST FAMILY OF VIRGINIA.

THE man at whose residence I staid, in Warrenton, belonged to a Virginia "first family," but said "thar" for there, "kin" for can, and "mo" for more. This pronunciation is very common in Virginia, among men passing much time in the country, but does not detract from their "first family" assumptions. Near male relatives, who have passed more time in cities, may be guiltless of this peculiarity. Moreover, the ladies of each family take pride in speaking grammatically, though the universal slave State accent is common to them. My host had been a private in the Southern army for fifteen months, but was discharged last June, as being over the age of thirty-five. His occupation was to stand at street corners all day with his hands in his pockets and smoke a pipe, accompanied by congenial friends. He was a good, easy fellow, with no ill-feeling to the North, and a strong desire to see peace return. His passion was to hunt or fish, and he was versed in all the mysteries of netting game. His grand misery appeared to be that no shot could be bought to kill the partridges, which were most abundant, flying boldly among the houses with impunity. His wife was a slight, pale Southern beauty, with dark, lustrous eyes, who had little to say upon the war, or upon anything else, but her mother poured an incessant volley of indignation against the North. She was a nervous little square-headed woman of fifty, who, with a New England training, would have exhausted her restlessness as a lecturer on anatomy and female health. But she lived in a land of mental dullness. Her husband was dead, lovers came no more, and she soothed her vitality by smoking. A pipe is a frequent solace of female middle-age in slave States, more especially in the country, where the distraction of gossip is not found, and where the labor, which should legitimately employ time, is performed by slaves. The old woman's tongue was my bane. There was no end to the citations she made of people who had been pillaged at different times by our army, and she tried very hard to make general assertions of personal rudeness, but could give no case in point, except a vague statement in regard to a certain Mrs. Brown, who had been kissed in the streets of New Orleans by an intoxicated Union officer, and who immediately shot him. Also of a young lady in Alexandria street, who was similarly treated, and who spit in her admirer's face. The old woman was a diligent reader of Southern newspapers, and an anxious inquirer for news. That these are the only cases of violence upon the fair sex that she can bring against our immense army, is very creditable to it. Her grand indignation story was upon an event asserted by her to have occurred (but which did not, as I am informed) at Front Royal last summer, when the place was occupied by Brig.-Gen. Steinwher. Two young ladies of the place asked for a written protection from Steinwher's provost-marshal for their home. The provost-marshal said they were laughing at him, refused them the protection, and revenged himself by ordering a written order posted at various public points throughout the town, giving soldiers the right to "treat the young women as they pleased." Notwithstanding the liberal latitude of this permission, the old lady could not learn that it had in any way been availed of. The old lady endeavored to impress me with the gentility of her connections. She was more or less connected with every family of social note. Her maiden name had been Lane, and she claimed a distant relationship with the Miss Lane of White House celebrity, notwithstanding the odious Northern birth and Union principles of that lady. The distant connection, however, proved to be through the medium of an original "three brothers." The lady's claims, also, were very extensive upon the Jennings's estate, in England, through her descent from "Sarah Jennings, Duchess of Marlborough." To all this gentility a most brutal blow was one day given by a matter-of-fact New England soldier. Two young nieces were visiting at her house, and the man innocently asked why she did not put them into a factory. *His* sisters worked in one, and it was better than doing nothing. The old lady collapsed. How dare he? Low bred, vulgar creature! *Her* nieces to be coupled with persons that worked in factories! The impudence of the "fellow" was a theme for endless invective.—*Philadelphia Press.*

LADY TRAVELLERS ON THE WHITE NILE.

AT the meeting of the Royal Geographical Society, held on Monday, the President, Sir R. Murchison, stated that, although he had not seen any letters on the subject, he was credibly informed that three ladies were exploring the banks of the White Nile above Khartoum; and that, having hired at considerable cost a steamer belonging to a relative of the Viceroy, they were proceeding to Gondocoro, whither Mr. Consul Petherick was also wending his way, against the stream, in boats, in order to afford succor to Capts. Speke and Grant, if those travellers should succeed in making good their proposed route to the sources of the Nile from Zanzibar, *via* the great Lake Victoria Nyanza. The President, having paid the compliments which were justly due to these enterprising ladies, added that they might probably, with their steam vessel, pass Mr. Petherick, and thus be the first to bring aid to the party coming from the South. In a letter from the eldest of the three ladies an account is given of a very touching scene. After describing their enjoyment and amusement amid the variety of vegetable and animal life on the banks of the great stream the lady writes: "But there are drawbacks. The shameful slave trade, though forbidden by the Viceroy, is going on as hard as ever. We stopped one day at a place where there were several boats full of these unfortunate wretches, who had been disembarked. They looked so miserable that A—— gave orders to have two oxen killed to give them a treat, and she went to see that each person had her portion, when a woman having a little baby came to kiss her hand, and told her that she and one child were sold to one master, and a little boy of five, with her mother (the child's grandmother), being in another troop, she wished to be with them as long as they remained in that place. Of course A—— asked and obtained this favor; and the meeting touched her so much that she begged me to buy and set free the whole family, which we did for £10. The slave merchant added two old women, starving of hunger, to the lot. The poor things do not require much food, and of course, on the first opportunity, we shall try to send them to their home, if they have any left, or to their tribe, which is in the Dinka country, further up the Nile."

STORY OF A CONVERSION.

Correspondence of The Evening Post.

BALTIMORE, Dec. 6, 1862.

A LADY friend of mine, the wife of one of the most heroic officers of our army, related to me this evening a most curious personal experience of hers. She was born amidst slavery; her parents were slaveholders, and she herself was a slaveholder till within a very few years. She had been reared to look upon a slave very much as she looked upon a dog, a horse or a cat, and to be kind to the slave just as she was kind to one of these domestic animals. She had floated down the tide of life untouched by the thought of sympathy for the slave as a fellow human being. One day last Spring she was riding to town, and on turning the corner of a street in the suburbs, she passed a wooden tenement, wearing all the appearance of poverty and want, when, all on a sudden, a black face thrust itself into sight at the paneless window, looking right into the eyes of my lady friend. The eyes of these two human beings met, and glances were exchanged as the carriage drove by at ordinary pace. That black face was stricken with sorrow—with despair. Untimely wrinkles told of years of hard and unrequited toil and grief, it may be of children torn from a black mother's love, and sold into bondage; and yet the eye that peered forth from that mass of wrinkles had lost none of its brightness. It sent a look of despair right into the soul of the white sister, that made her almost sick with an undefinable fear. My friend felt, for the first time in her life, that a black skin inclosed an immortal soul, and she was troubled beyond measure. The busy scene of the thronged streets, the din of vehicles, the distractions of shopping, nothing could make her forget that black face, with all its suggestions, for the first time in her life called up before her mind.

That night she lay upon her bed sleepless, thinking of that black face as the type of millions of other faces of the African bondmen and bondwomen and bondchildren, doomed to suffering and unmitigable woe, throughout our land, now bleeding at every pore because of its complications with slavery. Have I been so blind all my life as not to see the crime that has consigned so many of my fellow-creatures to a bondage that knows no end, that entails misery upon innocent children? she asked herself in the night-watches. And she suffered as though she was bound with the slave. She had never been unkind to the slave, never; but she had not sympathized with the lot of the slaves, she had not been touched with their misery as immortal souls, as fellow-beings, made of one blood, one flesh—and she was convicted of sin.

A day or two afterwards she was riding to the city along the same route, with her mind brooding over the shameful wrongs of this country to the slaves, and just as her carriage got opposite to the abode of that black face, it suddenly rose in sight at the broken window of the hut, and its eyes met hers again in inexpressible anguish, with its lines of sorrow more clearly drawn than before to her vision. On whirled the vehicle, and on went the work of conversion in its occupant's heart. For more than a month of days, as my friend rode by that hut, at intervals that same black face obtruded itself on her vision, until at last the heinousness of slavery was acknowledged by her soul, and she found herself longing and pleading with herself and her friends for the emancipation of the poor slave. A new light had broken into her soul, and a new life had been vouchsafed to her, all caused by that black face. She had been converted, had undergone a change of heart, and all her nature now sought to make itself felt in favor of the freedom of the slave, not merely to save the Union and put down the rebellion, but as a measure of justice, without which God would withhold his blessing from the nation. By-and-by, as she passed that forlorn tenement, that black face was absent from the gaping window, and so it went on for days and days thereafter. That black face was gone. It had done its work. It had raised up a loving heart to plead for the liberty of the black race, and saved it from its own infidelity to the cause of human rights.

SOME interesting fragments of pillars, taken from a tomb at Memphis, have been recently brought to England by Sir Charles Nicholson, and are now temporarily deposited at Mr. Henson's 113a, Strand. The pillars are square in form, each side being sculptured, and bearing the effigy of the person to whom the tomb belongs,